



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

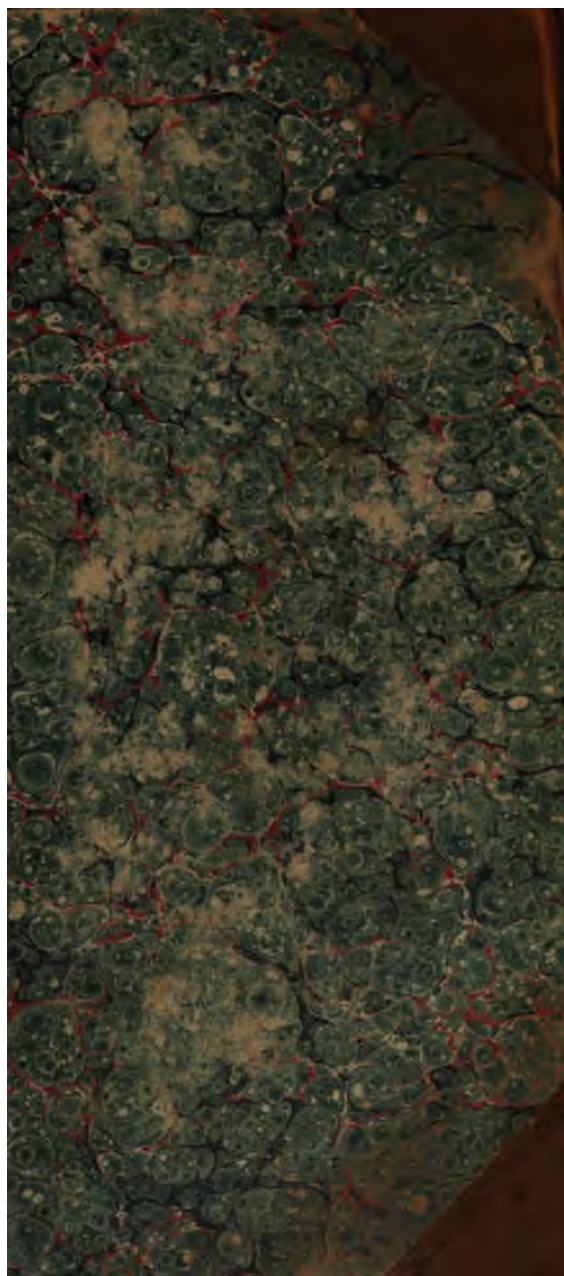
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

About Google Book Search

Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>

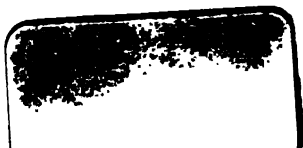


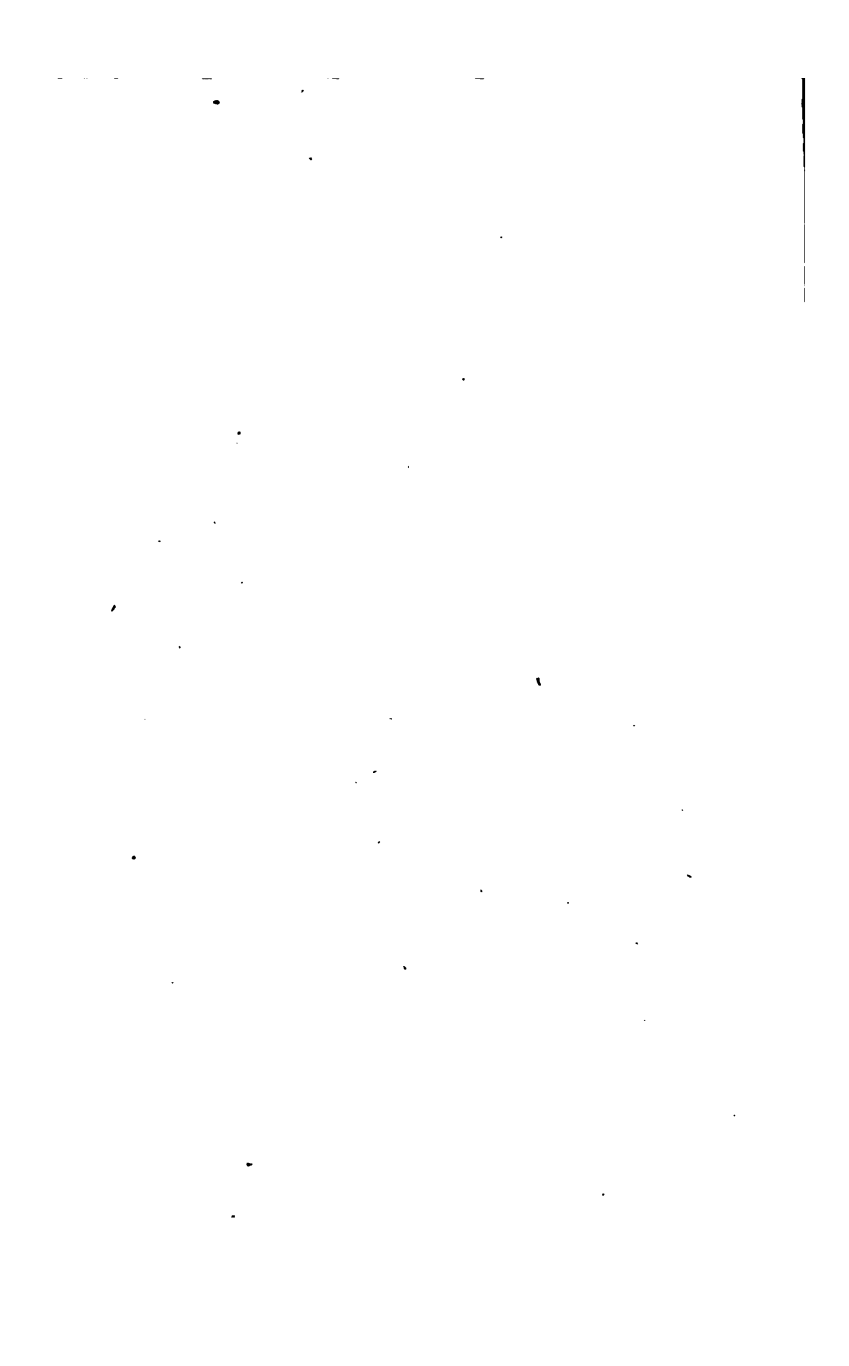
32.

40.



600004497U







THE
HISTORY OF SCOTLAND,

FROM
THE EARLIEST PERIOD TO THE PRESENT TIME.

BY ROBERT CHAMBERS,
AUTHOR OF THE "PICTURE OF SCOTLAND," &c.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

VOL. II.

LONDON:
RICHARD BENTLEY, NEW BURLINGTON STREET.
[LATE COLBURN AND BENTLEY.]

1832.

40.



CONTENTS

OF

THE SECOND VOLUME.

CHAPTER I.

	Page
REIGN OF JAMES VI. IN ENGLAND. 1603—	
1625.	1

CHAPTER II.

REIGN OF CHARLES I.—THE RELIGIOUS TROUBLES.—1625—1639.	13
---	----

CHAPTER III.

CHARLES I. CONTINUED. — THE CIVIL WAR. 1639—1644.	29
--	----

CHAPTER IV.

CIVIL WAR—MONTROSE'S CAMPAIGN—EXE- CUTION OF CHARLES I.	48
--	----

CHAPTER V.

CHARLES II. BEFRIENDED BY THE SCOTS— COMMONWEALTH.	68
---	----

CHAPTER VI.

	Page.
RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.—THE “PERSECUTION.”	89

CHAPTER VII.

PERSECUTION CONTINUED. — THE REVOLUTION.	119
--	-----

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE UNION.	138
---	-----

CHAPTER IX.

THE REBELLION OF 1715.	160
--------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER X.

REBELLION OF 1745.	176
----------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XI.

REBELLION OF 1745 CONTINUED	199
---------------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER XII.

SEVEN YEARS' WAR.—AMERICAN WAR.	224
---	-----

CHAPTER XIII.

FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY WAR.—POPULAR MOVEMENTS.	254
--	-----

CHAPTER XIV.

KING'S VISIT.—THE REFORM BILL.	273
--	-----

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

CHAPTER I.

REIGN OF JAMES VI. IN ENGLAND.
1603—1625.

THE union of England and Scotland, under one monarch, was a great step towards the complete incorporation of the two nations, and at least seemed to render it impossible that they should ever again take up arms against each other.

No person rejoiced more heartily in such a prospect than King James, who made it his boast that the borders of the two countries, which had hitherto been always at war with each other, were now rendered the heart or centre of one peaceful country. The more effectually to do away with all nominal distinctions, and give but one object to the national feeling of the two countries, he decreed that the whole island should henceforward be called Great Britain, and its inhabitants the British people. He also took an early opportunity of urging measures for a complete union of the laws and legislatures of the two countries.

It is not easy, however, to obliterate from the face of a nation "the marks of that which once hath been." At the earnest request of the King, the parliaments of the two countries appointed commissioners to treat about a Union. These commissioners met in July, 1604, at Westminster, and sat in deliberation for many days. The prejudices of the two nations were not to be overcome. The English regarded the Scotch with contempt, on account of their poverty: the Scotch could not entertain a friendly feeling towards a nation which met all their advances with scorn. The English feared that, in the event of a union, they should be overrun with needy adventurers from the north, of whom a considerable detachment had already followed the King. The Scotch, on the other hand, were scrupulous about their independency, which, as they thought, would be sacrificed by the loss of their separate parliament and state offices. They also feared for their church, which the King had already attempted to bring to a conformity with that of England, and which, they believed, could not long survive a national union with an episcopal country. Thus, after a session of several months, the commissioners broke up without accomplishing what the King so earnestly desired. All that could be gained at this time was a decision in the English law-courts, by which it was established that persons born in Scotland after the accession of King James were entitled to the ordinary legal privileges of English citizens, though not to enjoy state offices.

The kingdom of Scotland was now left in exactly

the same condition as formerly, except that it wanted the immediate presence of a court. This was perhaps a more endurable deficiency than might generally be supposed. It would appear that James V., whose crown revenues were in excellent condition, did not spend above two thousand a year in the support of his court. His grandson, the present sovereign, had enjoyed little more revenue than the pension of five thousand pounds granted by Elizabeth, and was perhaps rather a grievance than a benefit to his subjects, on account of the frequent loans and gifts which he exacted from them. It is at least a clear point, that much more was gained by the nation in having such a rich field of enterprise opened to it in the south, than could possibly be lost by the absence of the sovereign. The parliament continued to meet as usual, the King presiding over it in the person of his commissioner, who ratified the acts by a touch of the sceptre. The chancellor, the treasurer, and all the rest of the state officers, remained the same. The privy council also remained, and formed the standing government of the country. Thus, with a show of independent government, and the prospect of a visit from the King every third year, Scotland had much reason to be satisfied with its political condition. There was only one fatal point of discontent, which remains to be noticed.

After a journey of six weeks, which he compared to a constant hunting-match, James had arrived at London, and was crowned on the 25th of July, together with his queen. He had scarcely settled himself on

the throne, when a formidable plot was contrived against him by a party of disappointed courtiers, joined to some intriguing catholics. It was fortunately discovered in time. Two priests and one gentleman were executed; Lords Cobham and Grey, with Sir Walter Raleigh, were condemned to perpetual imprisonment; and some others were banished. A more dreadful conspiracy was afterwards formed by a party of Catholics exclusively. This body of religionists had been for many years subjected to severe persecution; all attempts at procuring toleration had failed, probably as much from the dangerous intrigues which the priests and jesuits were constantly carrying on, as from any thing else. One enthusiast, named Catesby, at length formed the resolution to avenge his injured church by one dreadful blow. Along with some associates, he placed a great quantity of gunpowder in a cellar beneath the House of Lords. He intended that, on the 5th of November, when the Parliament was to open, this mine should be exploded, by which the King, the Queen, the heir apparent, the whole members of the government, and both houses of Parliament, would be blown into the air together. The design was discovered a few hours before it was to have been put into execution, and King James was so grateful for the deliverance, that he caused the 5th of November to be kept as a holiday, which is the case to this day.

The history of Scotland and England during the ensuing century is in a great measure the history of religion. It is already known, that in Scotland by far the

greater part of the people were strongly attached to the Presbyterian church, which consists of a set of clergymen, all of whom are equal in rank, and who acknowledge no dependence in spiritual matters upon any earthly sovereign. The people of England, on the other hand, were pretty equally divided into Episcopalians, who adhered to the established church, and avowed an express subordination to the King; Catholics, who looked upon the Pope as their superior; and Puritans, who, like the Presbyterians of Scotland, regarded Christ as the only supreme power in matters of religion. It must be obvious that, of all these classes of people, the King must have been most favourable to the Episcopalians, who were most friendly to his power, and that he could not help looking upon the Presbyterians, Puritans, and Catholics, with distrust and fear, as avowing principles inconsistent in some measure with monarchical rule.

Perhaps the King's suspicions were in a great measure unfounded in regard to the Scottish Presbyterians, who, in many subsequent trials, proved themselves friendly to monarchy as a state government, and to the family of Stuart in particular, though their religious principles caused them to reject the interference of the King with their spiritual affairs. The struggles, however, which the King had maintained with the clergy in Scotland, left him with an impression that the equality and independence of the Presbyterian system was incompatible with the existence of a monarchy; and he had long resolved upon exerting himself to extend the episcopal system to that country,

in the hope that he would thereby obtain more complete obedience.

He had, therefore, from time to time appointing churchmen to the various sees, though without obtaining for them either the revenues or the spiritual power which alone could make them respected. Neither had they received that consecration from the hands of elder bishops, which is held essential to the constitution of a bishop, as the means of connecting him with the ordination of the apostles. It was his efforts to erect these men into a complete episcopal system, that proved the only cause of discontent in Scotland during his otherwise happy reign.

According to the existing laws of the Scottish church, the clergy had a right to hold their general assemblies annually, without any appointment from the King. James had for two or three years prorogued these meetings, and the clergy had obeyed. At length, fearing that by giving way any longer they might compromise their rights, a small number met at Aberdeen, on the 2d of July 1605, and, refusing an order to dismiss, which was presented by the Privy Council, they became liable to the pains of treason. Six were banished for this offence, and eight had to take up their residence in such remote parts of the kingdom as effectually marred their usefulness as clergymen.

The great additional influence which James had gained over Scotland by means of England, enabled him, in 1606, to procure the endowment of the new bishops with revenues, and even with a partial degree of episcopal supremacy. His chief instrument in ob-

taining the consent of Parliament to these measures was Sir George Home, a faithful Scottish councillor, whom he had created Earl of Dunbar.

At length, in 1611, three of the bishops were called up to London, to receive episcopal ordination from the hands of the English prelates. This holy privilege they communicated to their brethren on their return, and the spiritual efficacy of the new church might then be considered as complete. James further confirmed its power by erecting two courts of High Commission, of which the Archbishops of St. Andrew's and Glasgow were the presidents, and which had not only an inquisitorial power in all ecclesiastical offences, but also in the venial trespasses of the people.

Still the nation had reason to rejoice that their forms of worship were Presbyterian. The bishops ruled the clergy according to the royal desires; but they had not yet dared to bring any forms or ceremonies into the church itself, or to alter that extemporaneous service by which the devotions of the people had been chiefly conducted since the Reformation. It is probable that if James and his successors had continued satisfied with what they had gained, the Scottish church would have continued to exist with an episcopal government joined to Presbyterian forms; but the latter were a perpetual example before the eyes of the English, and it was seen that, till both nations were reduced to a uniformity in every respect, there could be no safety for the established church of England, and consequently, as it was thought, for the monarchy itself.

King James had reserved the business of imposing the episcopal forms for a great personal effort. For fourteen years he had been prevented by various circumstances from visiting his native kingdom. The desire of settling the church at length overcame every obstacle. In May 1617, he entered Scotland, accompanied by a gallant train of English nobles and gentlemen, with several bishops. Every where he was received with joyful acclamations and the most humble offers of duty. He found, however, that, whatever advances had hitherto been made towards an episcopal system of church government, the people, and the sincerer part of the clergy, still cherished an invincible repugnance to every thing connected with it. He had brought with him the whole machinery, animate and inanimate, for fitting up a chapel royal at Edinburgh, in the style of an English church, that it might serve as a model for the rest of the places of worship throughout the kingdom. But, except a few servile state officers, and the churchmen concerned in introducing the episcopal system, he could prevail on no one to attend it. The vestments of the clergy and choristers were styled the rags of popery; the organ was looked upon as a profanation; and a set of pictures of the twelve Apostles, hung up for ornament, were characterised as the insignia of idolatry.

He was not more successful in his endeavours with the Parliament. The nobles and gentry had for some time been alarmed at the arbitrary character of the government; they were offended at the exaltation of so many men who were lately parish clergymen, to an

equality with themselves ; and, above all things, they began to fear that the King contemplated a general revocation of the church lands. After a keen contest about the appointment of the Lords of the Articles, in which the King was worsted, an article was presented, confirming to his Majesty the supreme right of judging in all ecclesiastical matters, with the assistance of a certain number of his clergy. Against this a strong protest was presented by a body of the Presbyterian ministers ; and, after much discussion, the King was obliged to have it withdrawn. He inflicted severe punishment upon the leading persons concerned in the protest ; David Calderwood, who drew it up, was banished beyond seas, and others were imprisoned. But, after all, he was obliged to leave his proposals for a conformity of worship to the consideration of the General Assembly, which was appointed to meet at St. Andrew's.

The King, after spending some time at Edinburgh, proceeded to visit several of the provincial towns, such as Linlithgow, Stirling, Perth, Dundee, and Falkland. At every town, and almost at every mansion which he visited, he was received with panegyrical orations in classical Latin, which were afterwards published in a collected shape, and are allowed to be an honourable testimony of the state of learning at that time in Scotland. The adulation with which he was every where addressed might have convinced him that he was at least secure of the allegiance and affections of Scotland, without the necessity of altering the religion of the country into any more loyal shape. In his home-

ward journey he visited Glasgow, Hamilton, and Dumfries; and, entering England by the western border, reached London in September.

The General Assembly met in November, and proceeded to consider the forms proposed by the King, which were, 1. that the eucharist should be received from the hand of the minister, and in a kneeling posture; 2. that it should be administered in private in extreme sickness; 3. that baptism should be administered in private, if necessary; 4. that episcopal confirmation should be bestowed upon youth; 5. that the descent of the Spirit, the birth, passion, resurrection, and ascension of Christ, should be commemorated by annual festivals of the church. Though none of these forms involved a change in the general mode of worship, they were of considerable importance in theology, and accordingly they met with warm opposition from both clergy and people. The St. Andrew's Assembly would only consent that the elements should be given from the hands of the minister, and that the sacrament should be administered in private, when the communicant gave his oath that he was too sick to leave the house. When James was made acquainted with their decisions, he expressed the most violent anger, and immediately gave orders to stop certain additional salaries which he had lately bestowed upon the clergy. He also imprisoned a few whose violent opposition had brought them under the censure of his court of High Commission. So effectual were these measures, that, next year, in a second general assembly at Perth, his five articles were all received; an equally intimi-

dated parliament gave their sanction in 1621 ; but still they were of little real avail in reforming the church. The people contrived a thousand expedients for evading those forms which were compulsory, and such as were voluntary received no attention.

Previous to this period, Henry, the eldest son of the King, had died at the age of eighteen, just as his spirited and amiable character had begun to be appreciated by the nation. The heir apparent was now Prince Charles, the second son of the King, who had been born in the year 1600. James's only other surviving child, Elizabeth, was married in 1613 to Frederick, Elector Palatine of the Rhine.

King James died on the 27th of March, 1625, of a tertian ague. He was then in the fifty-ninth year of his age, the fifty-eighth of his Scottish, and the twenty-third of his English reign. In estimating his character, historians have been much puzzled by its many singularities and contradictions. He was a man of extensive intellect and great learning. Yet his mind had many weaknesses, the result perhaps of constitutional infirmity ; and his erudition, profound as it was, never seemed any thing better than the pedantry of a schoolmaster. He entertained the highest notions of the royal dignity, believed himself to be an immediate deputy of the Almighty, and thought that any resistance to the royal will by a subject, was little less than blasphemy. Yet his general conduct, so far from being dignified, wanted common manliness—was often, indeed, disgraced by the lowest buffoonery ; so that his subjects, however they might appreciate his

good-nature and easy familiarity, could never allow him that veneration which he thought his due. Another contradiction in his character was his religion. He entertained the most sincere and solemn feelings of devotion, and he was as deeply skilled in theology as most bishops in his dominions; yet his ordinary language was full of profane oaths and imprecations, inso-much as to become a subject of remark with foreign princes. He had few vices, but many foibles. His heart was humane, his mind liberal; but his timidity rendered him occasionally cruel, and his contests with the Puritans, to whom he bore only a political antipathy, brought him under the charge of intolerance. His want of courage, which was a conspicuous property, also brought him under the necessity of often using insidious and cunning methods of gaining his ends, where an open and candid behaviour would have been not only more honourable, but more successful. Altogether, it may safely be said of James, that, if he had had a real vice in the room of every little weakness, and had his learning and intellect been bartered for a little more strength of character, he would have now enjoyed a much higher reputation.

CHAPTER II.

REIGN OF CHARLES I.—THE RELIGIOUS
TROUBLES. 1625—1639.

JAMES, Sixth of Scotland and First of England, was succeeded by his son Charles the First, who was now in the twenty-fifth year of his age.

A negotiation had been some time in progress for a marriage between Charles and the Princess Henrietta Maria of France, who was the youngest daughter of Henry the Fourth, the greatest sovereign that ever ruled over that country. The union of the royal pair was carried into effect in May, amidst great rejoicings.

The marriage of the Princess Elizabeth to the Elector Palatine was destined to prove very unfortunate. The Bohemians, who had rebelled against their sovereign, the Emperor of Germany, offered to make the Elector their king. He had scarcely accepted the crown, when he was defeated by the Emperor, and not only driven from his new dominions, to which he had no right, but also from his paternal sovereignty of the Rhine. For some years he and his wife wandered about Europe, without any regular abode, while King James in vain endeavoured by negotiations to restore

him at least to his native dominions. Yet from this unfortunate match has sprung the family that now possesses the sovereignty of the British Islands—Sophia, daughter of the Elector and of the Princess Elizabeth, having been the mother of King George the First.

The Emperor of Germany, who had deprived the unfortunate Palatine of his dominions, was at this time one of the most formidable Princes in Europe, and particularly obnoxious to the English on account of his being the chief supporter of the church of Rome. The Kings of France and England, with several of the less important European powers, entered into a league against this mighty potentate; and their chief acting warrior was Gustavus Adolphus, King of Sweden. As the King of England had no other object in this war than to recover the dominions of his brother-in-law the Palatine, he did not take a prominent part: he even wished to avoid the appearance of being a party in the league. On this account, he prevailed upon the Marquis of Hamilton, who was his chief councillor for the management of Scotland, to raise six thousand men in that country, and lead them into Germany, as upon a private adventure of his own. This was a service peculiarly agreeable to the Scotch, both on account of the object of the war, and as it gave employment to the smaller gentry, who are always a surplus population. The Marquis therefore found no difficulty in raising the necessary forces. Their arrival on the banks of the Oder, by causing a division of the imperial army, contributed at the very first to the success

of the Protestant cause ; in so far as it enabled the troops of Gustavus to gain the decisive victory of Leipsic, by which the whole of the German empire, from the Baltic to the Rhine, from the mouth of the Oder to the source of the Danube, was opened to the career of the victorious Swede. The Scottish brigades afterwards distinguished themselves very highly in this glorious war, and were frequently recruited by fresh levies from their own country. It may be remarked that the national disposition for foreign adventure had before this time displayed itself as conspicuously in commerce as it now did in war. Previous to the union of the two crowns under King James, a great number of individuals had gone to the continent, where they rivalled the Jews as a migratory species of traffickers—in other words, as pedlars—an employment for which the genius of the nation seems to have been at all times peculiarly adapted. It is affirmed by Bacon that two hundred thousand Scotch families had emigrated to Livonia alone, before the accession of King Charles ; which, if true even in a hundredth part of its extent, would still argue very strongly the restless character of the people.

The early years of King Charles's reign were signalised by the struggles which he had to maintain with his parliament. This part of the English government was originally called up by the kings, merely as the organ for supplying them with money from the people. In the course of time, their command of the purse of the nation gave them a power over the king. In the present age, many of the members of parliament were

of opinion that the degree of power habitually exercised by the king was too much. Others were religious enthusiasts, who censured the king's government on account of the protection given to the moderate church established by law, and also for its leniency to the Papists. Hence, it soon became apparent that the King would be unable to conduct the state much longer on the accustomed principles, unless he could contrive to do without his parliament. This he resolved to do in 1629, trusting to the power of his proclamations for the raising of all subsequent taxes.

While he was thus exciting the discontent of the English, he offended the Scotch almost as deeply by compelling those who were in possession of the old church tithes and benefices, either to sell them to him at low prices, or else to secure their permanent possession by a gradual purchase, in order that he might the better endow the unpopular church now established. In the year 1633, he paid a visit to this quarter of his dominions, for the double purpose of completing those arrangements, and to undergo the ceremony of his coronation as King of Scotland. He was respectfully received by the nobility, whose affection to the ancient race of their monarchs was revived in his favour; the people also beheld this youthful sovereign with much regard. In parliament, however, when he demanded the ratification of the ecclesiastical arrangements, the discontent was very apparent. The people also were shocked by his ordering a set of vestments for the various ranks of the clergy, similar to those used in England.

Charles, though successful in his object, was dissatisfied with his Scottish journey, on account of the resistance he had met with. Soon after, a petition against the ecclesiastical arrangements, which had been prepared for the malcontent nobility, but never presented, was discovered in the possession of Lord Balmerino. Charles, selecting this nobleman for an example of vengeance, caused him to be tried on an old Scottish law, for having possessed a libel calculated to raise discontent in the King's subjects, without denouncing it to the proper authorities. By the most iniquitous arts, his condemnation was procured: he was adjudged to die the death of a traitor.

The people were dreadfully inflamed by this flagitious transaction; and, though the King did not dare to put the sentence in execution, they never forgot it. The very consciousness that their united indignation had deterred the monarch from his purpose, gave them a confidence in themselves, which was apt to be very fatal to the sovereign in less questionable exertions of his power.

Hitherto, the innovations of the Scottish church had referred exclusively to the clergy; no attempt had as yet been made to alter the simple mode of worship established at the Reformation. The people, though deeply indignant at the introduction of an episcopalian system of church-government, had submitted to it with some degree of patience, so long as their own express way of offering up their devotions was not intruded upon; but now they were to be attacked on this point also. Charles, and his chief coun-

sellor, Laud, Archbishop of Canterbury, saw with regret that the English puritans had great advantage in their assaults upon church and state, from the example of the national system of worship established in Scotland. They saw it to be necessary that the religion of the two countries should be completely assimilated. Ignorant to a considerable degree of the character of the Scottish people, and encouraged in their wishes by a new and more zealous race of bishops which had latterly come into power in Scotland, they caused a book of canons—that is, a system of ecclesiastical observances—to be forced upon the Scottish church. They next caused a liturgy or book of common prayer to be fabricated for Scotland, and commanded it to be read in all churches; a measure which aimed at the utter overturn of the existing mode of worship. To a pious people, who looked upon a regular ritual of set prayers as akin to popery, or at least as a cold and dull expedient, compared with the searching and exciting power of extemporary prayer, nothing could have been more intolerable than such a decree.

The 23d of July 1637, was the day appointed for the commencement of the new worship; but, except some of the bishops themselves, scarcely any minister ventured to produce the detested volume. On its being read in the cathedral church at Edinburgh, a dreadful tumult arose among the people, especially the women, and a storm of stools and clasped-bibles assailed the head of the dean. Not a word of the service could be heard. The bishop, who was present, ascended the upper pulpit, to try if he could quiet the people; but a

stool aimed at him by a virago named Janet Geddes, admonished him at once of the danger and the inutility of his attempt. Amidst the hubbub were heard the exclamations, "A pope, a pope! Antichrist! Stone him, stone him!" The magistrates, who were present, along with many of the officers of state, but whose presence served nothing to awe the people, at length were obliged to clear the church by force; after which the service proceeded. The bishop, in walking home to his lodgings, was attacked by the mob, and put into imminent danger of his life. In the afternoon, the service was performed with guarded doors; and was followed by another riot upon the street, in which the person of the bishop was once more endangered. It is remarkable that none but the meanest people were concerned in the tumults; the ring-leaders, indeed, were only servant women. It was supposed, however, that they had been put forward to act in this manner by persons of higher station. The women took the lead in a similar riot at Glasgow. The bishops suspended those clergymen who had not read the service in their churches; and endeavoured to enforce the order of council, which enjoined each parish minister to buy a copy, under pain of being considered a rebel; but they failed entirely in producing obedience. Afraid and unwilling to inform the King of the amount of the resistance, they represented it to him as a paltry riot, in which only a few of the rabble were concerned; he therefore did not think it necessary to retrace his steps. This was a fatal point; for the resistance, fully called into action by the continued

grievance, soon reached a degree of strength which made concession impossible.

In August, four of the clergy petitioned the Privy Council for a suspension of the order to read the liturgy. The members of this supreme body, though in the employ of government, were generally infected by the prevailing antipathy to the new worship. As secular nobles, too, they bore no good will to the bishops, who, besides taking precedence of them in parliamentary rank, had lately been intruded by the King into several state offices which only the lay nobility were wont to fill. Hence they thought proper to grant the desired suspension. Thus encouraged, many more of the clergy, many nobles, and a vast number of private gentry and citizens, came boldly forward to resist the liturgy. The whole country seemed to rise against it; the people animated by sincere piety, and the aristocracy by hatred of an upstart set of clergy, dignified and beneficed, as they thought, at their expense.

At this time, both in England and on the continent, Scotland was looked upon as a poor remote country, virtually but a province of the southern kingdom, and possessing no political importance on its own account. While Turkey, Poland, and even more distant states, had each its column in the small gazettes then published, Scotland could not boast of so much as a corner. It may, therefore, be supposed, that when the country assumed an attitude of resistance, it would be some time ere the world would allow full credence or full importance to the fact. Charles, perhaps, was not

more easily convinced than the public at large. He had been accustomed to regard Scotland as a province which must yield to the power of the larger kingdom of England. It never occurred to him that this part of his dominions could become in any way formidable in itself. He usually managed it by means of a single confidential Scottish nobleman at his own court ; and perhaps, in the pressure of more important concerns, he took little pains to make himself acquainted with the condition of the country. On the present occasion, there were not only the interested views of the bishops to prevent him from getting this information very readily, but the difficulty and slowness of all vehicles of intelligence were also grievously adverse to his interest. A petition or representation, sent off by his malcontent subjects, could not well be answered in less than a month, and during that time the resistance was always gaining strength and consistency.

Several communications of this kind passed between Charles and his subjects during the autumn. To each supplication was returned but one answer, a command that the liturgy should be used, and that the petitioners collected at Edinburgh should disperse. Dispersion was out of the question ; for the crowds consisted of men of all ranks and from all parts of the country, and the Privy Council, even if willing, had no standing force to second their orders. The utmost that they could do was to enter into an accommodation with the multitude, by which it was agreed, for the convenience of all parties, that the people should keep four standing committees at Edinburgh, to transact the

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.

HISTORY OF SCOTLAND.
positions, while the rest went to their
but still a considerable number of
remainers, continued to reside in
the King and Council rather
arrangement; for the com-
were called, gradually be-
and opposing government,

the government,
the King, losing all
down a pro-
movement of the new
it as
and at the
committees
and
prepared
summary
written
their

[The page contains approximately 18 horizontal blacked-out redaction bars.]

was sacred, the bond was called by the scriptural name of a Covenant. This document had been several times renewed by the leaders of the Scottish church. It was now revived by the *tables*, with additions applicable to the existing circumstances, and presented for signature to the assembled heads of the nation in Edinburgh. The exigency of the time rendered it highly acceptable. It was sworn to and signed by rapturous multitudes; and then sent, in various copies, to every district throughout the country. As its purport was to unite the people in an effort to maintain the "true religion of the gospel" against popery and all human inventions; and as it artfully professed a zealous attachment to the King, it was every where well received, with the solitary exception of Aberdeen. The bishops, seeing how completely it destroyed their power, retired from the scene of public exertion, acknowledging that in a few days the whole labour of thirty years had been destroyed.

In ordinary circumstances, Scotland could not have thus ventured to rebel against the King of Great Britain. The people, however, were quite aware of the disaffection which prevailed throughout England on points similar to those which had stirred up themselves, and calculated securely upon the difficulty which Charles would have in raising or supporting an army against them. In their own country no adverse force was dreaded, unless the Marquises of Huntly and Douglas, who were Catholics, should be able to muster their retainers in behalf of the King.

Charles did not yet despair of subduing them; but

he knew it would require time to raise an army. To divert them in the meanwhile, he sent the Marquis of Hamilton to treat with them. Hamilton approached Edinburgh on the 9th of June; and was met in the vicinity by about sixty thousand persons, including no fewer than seven hundred clergymen. On finding that the King, before giving them any assurance, required them to renounce the Covenant, they declared all negotiation vain. Nothing less would satisfy them than the abolition of the liturgy, the book of canons, and the court of High Commission; with a free General Assembly and Parliament to settle all further controversies.

Hamilton twice went to London and returned, on the pretence of endeavouring to obtain their demands, but in reality to allow the King time to prepare an army against them. At length, it was found necessary, for the sake of gaining further time, to gratify them by proclaiming a General Assembly for the ensuing November.

This important convocation sat in the cathedral of Glasgow, and Hamilton was appointed to preside as King's Commissioner. The hopes of the covenanters had now risen; allowed by royal authority to sit in an essentially presbyterian form, the sense of independence returned upon them in full strength. They proceeded to put episcopacy and its officers upon trial, and, as may easily be guessed, were at no loss in finding the whole system at fault. Hamilton, according to instructions which he had received from the King, protested against this procedure, and retired from the

Assembly ; a step which Charles expected would gain him friends in England. After he had gone, the Assembly, with the greatest confidence, voted the abolition of the episcopal innovations of the last two reigns, and at once reduced the church to its primitive form. The moderator, or president, on this occasion, was Alexander Henderson, minister of Leuchars, in Fife, who had been the first man of public character to appear in resistance to the service-book. He pronounced the elegy of episcopacy in these words, " We have now cast down the walls of Jericho ; let him that rebuildeth them, beware of the curse of Hiel the Bethelite."

An act so much in opposition to the will of the King, and carried into effect against the express protest of his representative, could only be considered as a declaration of war. So early as the time of the Covenant, the leading presbyterians had been furnishing their houses with warlike stores. They now openly proceeded with military preparations. Collections of money were made throughout the country ; their numerous fellow-countrymen, in Holland and elsewhere, sent their contributions of arms and ammunition ; one rich citizen of Edinburgh lent them eleven thousand pounds ; and they were unexpectedly, but secretly, supplied with another large sum by the Cardinal Richlieu, the chief manager of affairs in France, who took this mode of revenging certain public measures which Charles had recently taken against him. For the discipline and command of the Scottish levies, a great number of veteran officers were invited over from the

national brigades in Germany. A generalissimo was found in this quarter, in the person of Alexander Leslie, a Scottish officer of great military talents and experience. By the aid of these individuals, they contrived, in March 1639, to surprise all the royal forts throughout the kingdom within the course of three days.

Charles found great difficulty in raising an army. The puritanical religion of a great portion of his subjects, which led them to sympathise with the Scottish presbyterians, and the adverse politics of many others, who hoped to see the rebellion in Scotland reduce the power of the King, left him hardly any resource except the attachment of the clergy and the immediate dependents of his court. It was only with the greatest difficulty that, in the spring of 1639, he had collected an army of sixteen thousand men, with a small fleet, to be sent into the Firth of Forth. His only other hope lay in the assistance and co-operation of a small catholic and episcopal force, which the Marquis of Huntly was to bring down from the north, and in an invasion of the west coast of Scotland, which was to be executed by the Earl of Antrim from Ireland.

The campaign was opened in May. Charles led his small army to the borders near Berwick, and encamped at a place called the Birks, on the right bank of the Tweed. General Leslie moved forward with about twelve thousand, and pitched his camp on an eminence called Dunse Law, twelve miles from the Birks, so as to protect both roads to Edinburgh. The Earl of Argyle, the principal noble embarked in the

cause, was stationed with his Highland retainers to await the descent of the Irish; and the Earl of Montrose, who was second in influence, moved towards the north, to oppose the movement under Huntly. At the same time a large body of militia lined the shores of the Firth of Forth, to meet the invasion of the English fleet.

The army on Dunse Law was the most devout and orderly ever perhaps known in European warfare. Every morning and evening the drums collected the soldiers to public prayers. Throughout the whole day the tents resounded with the private aspirations of individuals and small companies. The officers alternately employed themselves in exercising the soldiers in religious and military duty. Ministers, with swords by their sides, were preaching at all times and seasons. Scarcely an oath or profane word was ever heard: the usual vices of camps were unknown. At the door of each colonel's tent was displayed a flag, bearing the Scottish arms, and the inscription "For Christ's crown and Covenant."

The whole of the royal preparations were found unavailing against this national enthusiasm. The Marquis of Hamilton, who conducted the fleet into the Firth of Forth, found his men so sick, and his opponents on shore so resolute, that he did not venture to land. Even his mother had armed herself in the general enthusiasm, and, riding down to the shore at Leith, threatened to be the first to fire at him, if he should dare to set a hostile foot upon his native country. The Earl of Montrose was highly successful in

the north: he first inveigled Huntly into his hands, and conducted him prisoner to Edinburgh, and then he suppressed an insurrection which was raised by the Lord Aboyne, second son of that nobleman. The Irish invasion completely failed. Neither did the King find his army so warm in his cause, as to induce him to hazard a battle with General Leslie.

Under these circumstances, Charles saw the necessity of a pacification. In consequence of a hint thrown out by one of his pages, who had liberty to visit his Scotch friends, a correspondence was opened between the hostile camps. Commissioners were then appointed to meet, and settle upon a treaty of peace. Charles himself attended their sittings, and personally expressed to the leading covenanters his desire of being again on good terms with his ancient paternal kingdom. The Scotch demanded three things—the ratification of the acts of the late General Assembly, which involved the abolition of episcopacy; the restitution of their ships and goods seized by the King; and the punishment of the royal ministers and advisers, whom they affected to look upon as the sole causes of the war. Charles demurred at these requests; and it was eventually agreed that all matters of dispute should be referred to a new General Assembly and Parliament, which were appointed to meet in August. The two armies were then dissolved.

CHAPTER III.

CHARLES I. CONTINUED.—THE CIVIL WAR.

1639—1644.

THE King now adopted a new policy with the turbulent people of Scotland. It is consistent with the self-love of a king who, by mismanagement, has brought his people into a state of resistance, to suppose that it is not so much the discontent of the mass, as the ambition of the leaders, that causes the insurrection. In reality, the leaders, with all their ambition, are but the creation of the mass; beings called into existence, or at least into action, by the general sentiment. Charles, overlooking the radical evils altogether, thought that he should overcome all opposition if he only could gain over the nobles who had hitherto taken the lead. He accordingly called a number of them to his court at Berwick, and, by blandishments and promises, endeavoured to make them his own partizans. He was successful only with the Earl of Montrose, an ambitious and unscrupulous person, though of great abilities, who was already dissatisfied on account of the ascendancy of the Earl of Argyll. Montrose is henceforth found at the head of a royalist party, which gradually began to assume a substantial appearance in the country.

The General Assembly sat at Edinburgh on the 6th

of August. The members, pledged at their nomination to sustain the acts of the Assembly of last year, voted to a man for the abolition of Episcopacy. The Earl of Traquair, who acted as the King's Commissioner, to the surprise of all, gave a ready assent to the act: making, however, a secret protest, in order to leave the King at liberty afterwards to annul the whole proceedings. The Parliament then met for the purpose of confirming the act. At the very commencement of business, a difficulty was found in the want of the bishops, who, as one of the three estates, had a privilege in naming the leading committee, called the Lords of the Articles. The covenanters proposed that their place should henceforth be supplied by the order of persons styled the lesser barons. They also attempted to bring forward a great number of other acts infringing upon the royal prerogative, and one in particular for annulling all former acts in favour of episcopacy. Traquair was unable singly to oppose such a storm of popular force, and found no expedient but to prorogue the Parliament. This step was approved of by the King.

The covenanters, thus finding their great object still unperfected, saw no other course than to renew hostilities. Charles was equally anxious to put the quarrel once more to the arbitration of the sword. Having intercepted a letter from the covenanting leaders to the King of France, imploring assistance, he endeavoured to make them appear to his English subjects as traitors to the country. In order to raise money, he reluctantly called a parliament, the first that had assembled for

ten years. He also called a convocation of the clergy. The parliament, instead of meeting his wishes, annoyed him with complaints as to his recent conduct and policy. He was obliged to dissolve it. The clergy, as was to be expected, proved more obedient: they sat for some time after the parliament, and gratified him with a considerable subsidy. The dissolution of the parliament, which had been confidently looked to for redress, incensed the nation to a great and alarming degree.

The Scottish parliament was to meet again, in the terms of the prorogation, on June 2, 1640; but Charles transmitted an order to renew the prorogation. This was declared informal in some minor point, and accordingly the parliament assembled. Disregarding the want of a royal commissioner, they chose a president, and proceeded not only to pass all the acts formerly proposed, but to make arrangements for a new campaign. This assemblage can only be considered in the light of an insurgent council, but it was obviously the best mode of forming a government in opposition to the King. After carrying all immediate measures into effect, the parliament deputed its self-assumed powers to a committee, which henceforth conducted all the secular affairs of the country.

In July, the Scottish army again began to assemble. Its arrangements were almost complete before Charles had either procured money, or collected troops. His designs were, to march as formerly at the head of an army to Scotland; to renew the attempt at an invasion from Ireland; and to raise a counter-insurrection in

the northern parts of Scotland, by means of his few episcopal and catholic adherents. The Scots did not on this occasion wait for his approach. They made bold to enter England. On the 20th of August, they crossed the Tweed at Coldstream, the Earl of Montrose, who was still to appearance their friend, being the first man to plunge into the stream. Advancing through Northumberland, a week's march brought them to a ford upon the Tyne, a few miles above Newcastle. The royal army was now rendezvoused at York; the town of Newcastle was garrisoned; and Lord Conway, the commander of the horse, had resolved to dispute the ford with the Scots. A battery was opened by the English on Stella-haugh; the Scots planted their artillery on the steeple of the town of Newburn, and thus commanded the trenches of their opponents. This, with the superior experience of Leslie, gave the covenanters a decided advantage. The battery of the English was quickly broken up. A detachment of the Scots crossed the river a little higher up, to take the troops of Lord Conway in flank. At the same time, the Scottish battery turned its fire full upon the main body of the enemy. This staggered the English army, which consisted chiefly of gentlemen and their servants, who had never before been in action. The Scots took advantage of their indecision, crossed the river in full force, and soon put the whole of the opposing host to flight. But for the stand made by a small party of royalist gentry, a great part of the army would have been cut to pieces or taken prisoners. The horse retired to Durham, the

infantry to Newcastle ; and the Scots encamping on the right bank of the river, gained possession of Newcastle next day.

This success was followed up by the capture of Shields, Teignmouth, and even Durham ; and news at the same time arrived of the seizure of Dumbarton Castle by their friends in Scotland, and of the suppression of the northern insurgents by General Munro and the Earl of Argyle. The King had calculated that the invasion of the Scots would have roused the national feelings of the English ; but religious and political sympathy had for a time extinguished the old animosities of the two countries. The Scots, before entering England, had sent before them a paper, which was very widely circulated, declaring that their sole objects were to displace the King's evil councillors, and obtain a proper settlement of religion : they scrupulously disclaimed every thing like hostility to the English as a nation. They now took care to prove the purity of their intentions, by abstaining from all invasion of private property, except exactions upon the Catholics of the northern counties—men who were held in that superstitious age as the enemies of all parties, and were generally charged with the blame of supporting the King in the present war.

The King's military preparations were effectually checked by the successes of the Scots. Instead of wishing to fight, his soldiers, if not also his officers, were disposed to look upon the invaders as their best friends. Indeed it is now ascertained that the leading

covenanters had received invitations to enter England, from many of the principal nobility. The King and his advisers again found the necessity of a pacification. He opened a new correspondence with the Scottish leaders. The demands of the covenanters were, that the acts passed in the late irregular session of parliament should be ratified, that compensation be made for the losses and expenses of the nation in this campaign, and the stigma of 'traitors,' which had been affixed upon them by royal proclamation, taken off. In the course of the negotiation which followed, the covenanters discovered the treachery of Montrose, and put him under arrest. It was found that, a few weeks before, he had formed a species of counter-covenant, to which he secretly procured the accession of several of the chief nobility, who, like himself, were dissatisfied with the places assigned to them, or perhaps thought that their brethren were pressing too hard upon the royal authority. Convinced by this of the fickle nature of revolutionary power, the Scottish leaders were the more readily disposed to enter into an accommodation with the King. It was finally determined in a council of peers called by King Charles, that the national grievances should be again referred to a parliament; and, as the patriots of both nations thought it necessary to keep up the Scottish army as a compulsory force to overawe the King, it was agreed to borrow money for supporting it at the rate of £850 a day, till such time as all matters should be fully settled. All the advantage that could be desired was thus gained over the King. Not provided with any

military force himself, he could offer no resistance to his armed subjects.

The English parliament met in November, and immediately commenced a series of measures for effectually and permanently abridging the royal authority. There was even a large party, who contemplated the total abolition of the monarchy, and the establishment of a republic. Religion was to appearance the moving-spring of the revolution. The destruction of the episcopal system was anxiously desired by an immense party, who conceived that large benefices, and a connection with the state, were incompatible with pure religion. All were alike furious against the Catholics, but evidently not so much from a sincere fear of that body of Christians, as the conveniency of setting them up for the objects of popular alarm, and making all revolutionary acts appear as only so many necessary safeguards against their machinations. In reality, the Catholics appear to have been in this age a moderate and quiet race, severely persecuted by their fellow-Christians, but no otherwise entitled to odium than in so far as they had been the objects of an enlightened toleration to the present and late Sovereigns.

The first acts of the parliament had little or no immediate reference to Scotland. The Earl of Strafford, one of the principal advisers of the King, was accused of treason against the liberties of the people, and afterwards executed. William Laud, the archbishop of Canterbury, another zealous councillor, was impeached and imprisoned, but reserved for future ven-

geance. The remaining ministers of the king only saved themselves by flight. Some of the judges were imprisoned and fined. The abolition of episcopacy was taken into consideration. The Catholics fell under a severe persecution; and even the person of the Queen, who belonged to this faith, was not considered safe. Some of the measures taken by the parliament seemed highly justifiable, as calculated to prevent the recurrence of such miseries as had been occasioned during recent years by the excessive power of the King; but it must be acknowledged that in others they went a great deal too far on the opposite course, and, in general, the religious sentiments which animated them were of an illiberal and degrading kind.

It was not till August 1641, when the English parliament had gained many of its objects, that they permitted the treaty of peace with Scotland to be fully ratified. They then gratified the troops, not only with their full pay at the rate of £850 a day, but with a vote of no less a sum than £300,000 besides, of which £80,000 was paid down, as an indirect way of furnishing their party with the means of future resistance. The King, on his part, also took measures for gaining the attachment of this formidable body of soldiery, and of the Scottish nation in general. He had agreed to be present at the meeting of the Estates in the autumn of this year. In his journey to the north, he passed through the army at Newcastle, and accepted an invitation to dine with General Leslie. On his arrival at Edinburgh, August 14, he squared his conduct most carefully with the rigour of presbyterian manners;

appointed their chief preacher Henderson to be his chaplain, and listened for hours to puritan sermons, in that very chapel-royal which he and his father had instituted, a few years before, as a model for the episcopal worship. In the parliament he was equally complaisant : he at once ratified all the acts of the preceding irregular session ; he yielded up the right of appointing the state officers of Scotland ; and he ordained that the Scottish parliament should meet once every three years without regard to his will—an immense point in the claims of freedom. The men who had acted most conspicuously against him in the late insurrections now became his chief councillors, and he seemed to bestow favours upon them exactly in proportion to their enmities. He created General Leslie Earl of Leven, putting on his coronet with his own hand. Argyle was made a Marquis. Many others received promotions in the peerage. The offices of state were distributed amongst them. Henderson, presbyterian as he was, did not scruple to accept the revenues connected with the former episcopal office of Dean of the Chapel-royal : Gillespie, a preacher only second to him in influence, received a pension in money. Thus, it will be observed, the affections of the Scots were in a manner set up to auction between the King and his English Parliament, and from both did they receive considerable gratifications.

But, while thus intriguing with the covenanting leaders, Charles also kept up a correspondence with that royalist party, which had been embodied by the

Earl of Montrose. This nobleman was now suffering confinement in Edinburgh Castle, for his machinations in favour of the King. In the anguish of disappointed ambition, he concocted an enterprise in the old Scottish style against the lives of his political opponents. The King having refused his sanction to the scheme, he seems to have resolved upon executing one of a less ferocious character, without his Majesty's knowledge. The Marquis of Argyle had all along been the prime object of Montrose's antipathy, and the odium was now shared by the Marquis of Hamilton, who at this time held a nearly equal place in the Scottish councils, and by the Earl of Lanark, his younger brother. These three noblemen Montrose intended to be suddenly seized, and taken on board a vessel in the Firth of Forth. On the same night, his friends were to surprise Edinburgh Castle, and endeavour to bring about a complete revolution in favour of the royal cause. The plot was detected, and the three noblemen retired precipitately to the country. Charles himself was the only person who suffered : the scheme, though probably unknown to him, was universally laid to his charge, and it introduced suspicions of his sincerity, that tended to neutralise the effects of his late favours, and also to afford matter of reproach to the English parliament, who had of course viewed his journey to Scotland with great jealousy.

After spending about three months in Scotland, Charles was suddenly called away, in consequence of intelligence which reached him from Ireland. The Catholics of that country, who formed the great ma-

jority of the population, and had for many years groaned under the oppression of the English protestants, became infected by the example of the Scottish covenanters, and resolved that they would also endeavour to obtain toleration and equal rights. Their proceedings led to an intestine war, during which the greatest cruelties were perpetrated on both sides. Though the poor Irish were struggling for both national and religious freedom, they gained no sympathy from the patriots of Britain. These patriots, on the contrary, pressed the King to suppress the Irish rebellion, being afraid that a religious toleration in that country would be inconsistent with the same privileges in their own. The Scottish covenanters immediately sent over a large body of troops to assist in rivetting those bonds upon the Irish from which they themselves were just emancipated. It is by such traits of exclusive feeling that the religious sects of this age diminish their title to the sympathy of an enlightened posterity; for it is invariably found that the persecuted became the persecutor, whenever it obtained an ascendancy.

When Charles returned to London he found the parliament in no pleasant temper. The leading men in this body were now alarmed for their personal safety. They saw the royal prerogative to appearance prostrate before them; but the late efforts of Charles to muster a party, combined with their suspicions as to the attempt upon the Lords in Scotland, showed but too plainly that things could not stand where they

were ; and they felt assured that, in the event of a full resumption of the royal authority, they must submit to the fate which they had already awarded to their opponents. Thus, though enough had been done for the assurance of liberty, it became necessary that the struggle should be continued till the liberators were also assured of safety.

The temper of the Commons was shown by their proceedings after the King's return. By way of rousing the feelings of the country in their behalf, they published a paper called a Remonstrance, in which were detailed all the grievances already abrogated, together with a long string of others which, it was said, still remained to be weeded away by the wisdom of parliament. They also impeached and imprisoned twelve of the bishops, thereby, of course, frightening away all the rest. They even talked of impeaching the Queen, whose sole fault was her attachment to the proscribed religion of Rome. Finally, they commenced a struggle with the King for the command of the army ; a privilege which at all times has necessarily belonged to the crown, but which these men asserted to be expressly necessary for their own protection.

Charles, on the other hand, resolved to make a desperate attempt at punishing a few of the leaders, in order to intimidate the rest. On the 4th of January 1642, he suddenly entered the House of Commons, and demanded the persons of six members, Lord Kimbolton, Hollis, Pym, Haslerigge, Hampden, and Stroud, whom he accused of high treason. They had escaped

beforehand, in consequence of secret information ; and he had to retire without gaining his object. This incident served to excite the public feeling in behalf of the parliament, and against the monarch.

The exasperation of parties had now reached such a height, that their respective adherents had daily conflicts on the streets of London. It was evident that a civil war must take place—not so much to settle the national liberties, for they were already settled as far as the existing sovereign could settle them, and the people at large would have now rested content, as to decide the personal struggle for existence, which had commenced between the King and his friends on the one hand, and the Parliament on the other. Thus, after a nation has fully wrought out its liberties without bloodshed, it may be dragged into a war by the small party of individuals whom accident or ambition have put into the more conspicuous situations.

The King reared his standard at Nottingham, on the 25th of August 1642. He was supported by a great proportion of the landed interest, and of the provincial population in general ; while the Parliament chiefly depended upon the commercial population of the capital and other large towns. On the one side were ranged loyalty to the King, attachment to the Church, and that principle of the human breast which delights in institutions that *have been* and *are*. On the other, stood zeal for a more enthusiastic and speculative system of devotion, and that principle which causes men to strain after an ideal perfection in government, in favour of which they despise all insti-

tutions that have hitherto existed. The King, on the one hand, got friends by arguing upon the mischievous enthusiasm of his opponents; the Parliament, on the other, exerted itself to keep up the fervour of popular feeling in its own behalf, by endeavouring to prove the rooted designs of the King against English liberty, by propagating the most false reports about himself and his adherents, and sounding a constant alarm as to the danger in which religion was supposed to stand, from the machinations of the Catholics and high episcopalians. The Parliament supported its troops partly by taxes, but chiefly by the confiscation of the property of the royalists: the forces of the King were chiefly gentry and their retainers, who maintained themselves; other expenses he supported by the sale of his own crown jewels. There was much superstitious fanaticism on both sides: the King believed that God would never suffer rebellion to prosper; and the Parliament, also trusting that their cause was the cause of God, were equally sure that it would triumph through divine aid. It is amusing to observe how much they were respectively puzzled, when fortune happened to declare against them. Instead of seeking for the source of the disaster in some misconduct or mishap, some short-coming of men, or bullets, or courage, they searched back into their private conduct, to find if it lay in any late remissness in their devotions.

The first campaign was favourable to the royal arms. The battles of Edge-hill and Brentford, with several minor actions, threw the whole of the centre

and west of England into the power of the King. The Parliament, humbled by these reverses, attempted to effect a pacification; but it was broken off by a few leaders who had reason to despair of a personal accommodation with the King. These men resolved to restore the balance of force, by intreating the aid of their brethren in Scotland.

Since the fulfilment of all their desires in 1641, the Scottish people had remained perfectly at rest, though in a state of great anxiety as to the result of the present contest in England. For their own part they had no reason to take up arms; the King had not left them a single grievance unobliterated. The fear, however, that the triumph of the King over the Parliament would enable him to revoke all his concessions, pointed out that it was necessary for them to ensure their safety by aiding the opposite side. Thus were the gifts which Charles gave in a spirit of insincerity, repaid by a policy fully as unprincipled.

The anxiety of the English to obtain this alliance was scarcely so great as that of the Scots to give it. In the English parliament, there were many men who despised the Scots, because, in their attachment to a particular form of church-government, lay the whole of their reasons for insurrection. These men, who were called Independents, contemplated a republic in the state, and a perfect absence of all system in religion. They dreaded to call in a set of allies, whose enthusiasm in favour of a particular form of church-government, not to speak of their scruples in behalf of

monarchy, might afterwards lead to inconvenience. The reluctance of this party, together with some considerations as to the expense of maintaining a Scottish auxiliary army, had hitherto prevented any application, however much it was desired by the Scots.

It was only when the successes of the King had seemed to render it unavoidable, that the Parliament opened up their negociation in the north. Four commissioners, Vane, Darley, Armyne, and Hatcher, arrived at Edinburgh in July 1643, and as the parliament could not legally sit for another year to come, a convention was called, in order to manage the treaty. The Scots, ever since their invasion of the north of England, had been inspired with a keen desire of extending their system of worship to that country; and the destruction of the English hierarchy had seemed to render such an object highly feasible. The puritans of the south were nearly akin to themselves; of course, when the puritans triumphed, it was natural to hope that the Scottish church, or something like it, would be established in place of that which was destroyed. It was partly sincere fervour on this point, and partly the absolute necessity of preventing the return of King Charles to full power, that actuated the Scots in their desire to aid the English parliament.

At the first, they were for making the adoption of their church in England a fundamental part of the treaty; but to this the English Independents would not consent, and they were at last obliged to content themselves with a stipulation, that religion in England

should be established "after the models of the best reformed churches."

The treaty was put into a highly religious and solemn form. It contained, in the first place, the document called the National Covenant, which had been signed by the Scottish people, for the defence of their religion, in 1638. It also included a paction of the two nations, to unite in rooting out the Catholic religion. And not only was it to be signed by the diplomatic representatives of the two countries, but by the people at large. The *Solemn League and Covenant*, as it was called, is a document that will mark, to latest time, the power which religious feeling may exert in overcoming one of the strongest sentiments—national antipathy. An alliance was temporarily secured, by means of this treaty, between two nations, which, for ages before, and almost for ages after, were "wide as the poles asunder."

In the terms of the League, the Scotch raised an army of twenty-one thousand, which the English parliament was to pay at the rate of sixpence a day for each foot-soldier, and a shilling for each horseman. In the mustering of the troops, the preachers were chiefly instrumental. Leslie, though, on receiving his coronet, he had promised King Charles never more to fight against him, took the command; and the army moved forward in the very depth of winter, through snow which reached to the knees.

Meanwhile, both houses of the English parliament solemnly ratified the League. They at the same time convoked an assembly of divines at Westminster, to

concoct a new church in place of the old. To this several of the Scottish ministers were invited.

The Scottish army did not at first fulfil the hopes that had been formed of it. It spent three weeks ineffectually in attempting to take Newcastle. After abandoning the siege, it was shut up in its quarters at Sunderland, for five weeks, by the Marquis of Newcastle, whom it had just before been besieging. At length, effecting a junction with a detachment of the parliamentary army under Fairfax, it sat down before York, which the King endeavoured to relieve by an army under his nephew Prince Rupert. Charles was of opinion, that the defeat of this combined army and the relief of York, were two points most essential to his fortunes, and he took care to impress Rupert with his own sentiments. Unfortunately, this young generalissimo had scarcely any military qualification besides courage. On the first of July, 1644, he engaged the united armies at Long Marston Moor. His right wing broke the left of the Scots at the first charge, and it is said that the Earl of Leven, who commanded in that quarter, did not stop till he was seized in far and solitary flight by an ordinary constable. The right wing of the Scots was in the same way successful against the left of the English. In those days, the different parts of an army had no principle of movement after the first charge. Each did its best, and left its neighbours to do the same. Thus, after the right wing of the two armies had respectively chased their opponents for several miles, they were surprised, on returning to the field of battle, to find that a se-

cond contest remained to be decided. In this collision the royalists were defeated with great loss. Upwards of four thousand men were slain; the royal train of artillery and fifteen hundred prisoners fell into the hands of the combined army. This victory, which closed the active career of the Scottish forces, was the first decisive blow that had yet been struck against the King's cause, and it was never retrieved.

CHAPTER IV.

CIVIL WAR—MONTROSE'S CAMPAIGN—EXECUTION OF CHARLES I.

ONE bright but evanescent gleam of success cheered the royal cause just as it was sinking. The Earl of Montrose had hitherto signalized himself by efforts, which, though well meant, had rather injured than advanced the interests of the King. Charles, from the period of his visit to Scotland in 1641, had trusted more to the indecisive councils of Hamilton than to the bold measures proposed by Montrose. Some real or suspected treachery, on Hamilton's part, at length caused him, in the end of 1643, to throw that nobleman into prison, and to receive Montrose into high favour.

The march of the Scottish army into England seemed to hold out good prospects of raising a royalist insurrection in the north. Montrose, dignified with the title of Marquis and the rank of lieutenant-general, left the King for this purpose in April 1644. He entered Dumfriesshire with a small party, but being disappointed of an accession of force which was promised from Ireland by the Earl of Antrim, was speedily obliged to withdraw. Then, changing his project, he

penetrated the country in disguise, and with a single attendant, succeeded in reaching the Highlands, where he soon heard that a party of about fifteen hundred Irish were advancing through the country, in order to put themselves under his guidance.

Scotland at this time lay in a very defenceless state. In the absence of the army in England, there only remained some large bodies of raw militia to protect the country—besides the formidable character which the insurgent government had gained by its severity. It was Montrose's first object, with the force he had, to strike some sudden and decisive blow against the ruling body, so as to encourage the cavalier gentry to join in his enterprise.

At the end of August, he burst in a cloud of smoke and flame upon the Lowlands. To his small band of Irish, he added, as he went along, several detachments of Perthshire Highlanders. Against this host, which seemed to have sprung from the ground, Lord Elcho mustered the Fife militia at Perth. Montrose ranked up his half-armed and half-clothed troops on Tippermuir, and Elcho came to meet him. Having no horse to cover his flanks, and only one round of ammunition for the armed part of his troops, the royalist general determined on deciding the action at once by a vigorous charge. In executing this, it is said that many of his men had no other weapons than large stones. Their savage appearance, however, made up for all defects. The tame-spirited militia turned from the charge and fled; Montrose's soldiers, picking up their weapons, cut them down in great numbers as they

ran, and the slaughter was only stayed at Perth, which immediately surrendered to the victors.

Though flushed with this success, and provided with full military stores, Montrose did not think himself able to face a second body of militia, which his rival Argyle, now lieutenant-general of the kingdom, was leading against him from the West Highlands. He resolved first to beat up the quarters of the Angus and Aberdeenshire royalists. Followed at some distance by Argyle, he marched into the former of these two provinces, and was joined by the Earl of Airly and various other distinguished persons, along with their retainers. His army, however, suffered much on the other hand from the withdrawal of many of the Highlanders to deposit their booty. Lord Burleigh had collected a body of militia to protect Aberdeen. Montrose, fearing that it might join with Argyle, was obliged to offer it battle. The action took place on a field two miles west from the city. Two large squadrons of horse, which Burleigh successively directed against the various wings of the royalist army, were successively beat off by about forty horse and a few musketeers, whom Montrose, with marvellous dexterity, shifted from one extremity of his line to the other, in time to protect both. A charge in the style of Tippermuir, then completed the victory. Montrose obtained possession of Aberdeen, which he gave up to spoliation and massacre.

Still unprepared to meet Argyle, he thought it necessary to march into the country of the Gordons, in the expectation of increasing his army. That clan,

though at heart zealous in the royal cause, was prevented from acceding to his wishes, partly by dislike to one who had formerly been instrumental in taking prisoner their chief, the Marquis of Huntly, and partly on account of a jealousy as to his commission, which interfered with one possessed by their family leader, as lieutenant of the northern parts of Scotland. Argyle was meanwhile pressing on, and had issued a proclamation putting twenty thousand pounds upon Montrose's head. He was obliged to retire into the Highlands before the face of this formidable enemy.

Having there collected his forces once more, he soon reappeared in the Lowlands of Angus, and still he was followed by the Marquis of Argyle. A second chase, exactly like the first, took place, and at the end of October, the two armies were nearly in the same positions in Aberdeenshire, which they had occupied a month before. Montrose was obliged to stand upon the defensive at Fyve Castle, and for several days his cold and formal, if not timid rival, made repeated but unavailing efforts to dislodge him from his position. At length, the approach of winter caused them to give up the campaign by mutual consent. Such of the royalists as had homes in the north of Scotland, retired thither; the remainder accompanied their leader into the central Highlands. Argyle dissolved his army, and went to congratulate the insurgent government at Edinburgh upon his having concluded the war "without bloodshed."

That his subsistence might be no burden to his friends, Montrose now resolved upon a predatory ex-

pedition into the territories of Argyle, which were left in a great measure defenceless. In the very depth of winter, the Irishmen and the Athole Highlanders followed him over the snowy and pathless hills into that devoted country. For six weeks they revelled in unlimited spoliation over all the far-extending possessions of the Campbells. Every house, except the impregnable castles of the chieftains, was burnt; every four-footed beast eaten, or driven off; every armed enemy slain; all kinds of property destroyed. The Marquis himself was nearly surprised in his castle at Inverary; and only saved himself by a hasty flight in an open boat. At the end of January the royalists retired, sated with spoil and revenge.

As they moved slowly through Lochaber, they were overtaken by intelligence that Argyle was pursuing them with his clan, aided by some forces that had been put under his command by the Scottish government.

Montrose turned upon this host as a lion turns upon a rash huntsman. By a forced march of amazing difficulty, he was able to surprise Argyle at Inverlechy. The sun which rose on the 2nd of February, 1645, showed to the astonished Campbells an army which they believed to be many miles distant, ready to fall upon their encampment. They hastily put themselves into fighting order, and had hardly completed their arrangements when the royalists made their attack. One charge sufficed to decide the day. The Campbells, dispirited by the conduct of their leader, who had retired at the first alarm to a barge upon the neighbouring lake, turned and fled. The main body

was driven with prodigious slaughter into the lake, and sunk in hundreds around the vessel where their chief had taken up his inglorious position. Montrose's army, which consisted of only fifteen hundred men, is said to have killed fully as many of the enemy, who had originally reckoned double their number. Among the slain were many of the principal leaders of the clan Campbell.

In these singular conflicts the advantage was entirely produced by the vigour of the assault. There was in no case any deliberate fighting worthy of being mentioned. This is proved by the amazingly small losses experienced by Montrose. In the battle of Tippermuir, he is said to have lost only one man; at Inverlochy, only three.

He now moved rapidly along the plains of Moray, spoiling the houses of those who would not join his standard, and plundering the covenanting towns of Cullen and Banff. At Elgin he was joined by Lord Gordon and Lord Lewis Gordon, the eldest and third sons of the Marquis of Huntly, all jealousy being now banished from the minds of this noble cavalier family by the splendour of the late victories. Reinforced by about seven hundred of the clan Gordon, he descended into Angus, taking Dunnottar Castle by the way. A new army, under the charge of an experienced officer, named Baillie, was now sent against him. The two, from a mutual respect for each other, moved side by side along the frontier of the Highlands, Baillie reaching Perth, and Montrose arriving at Dunkeld, exactly at the same time. Finding the southern and more

valuable part of Scotland thus guarded, he made a sudden march upon Dundee, which, on account of its zeal for the covenant, he gave up to pillage. But while the work of spoliation was at its full height, he was surprised by the sudden approach of General Baillie, who had marched from Perth to protect Dundee. He found it necessary, from the intoxicated state of his men, to make a hasty retreat. With skill, more honourable perhaps than the achievement of a victory, he effected this movement, without losing a man, and next morning, after an incredibly long march, was again safe within the range of the Grampians.

The next movement of this extraordinary general was directed against a large body of militia, which was collected in the neighbourhood of Inverness, under an officer named Sir John Hurry, and which was now harassing the lands of the Gordons. On the 4th of May, he met this host at Auldearn in Nairnshire; his troops were arranged in two wings separated by that village. The village itself he possessed by a small body under the well-known Alaster Mac Col, or Col-kitto, who, during the whole of this campaign, served as his major-general. On the covenanting side were three thousand five hundred foot and six hundred horse. In Montrose's army there were only fifteen hundred foot and two hundred horse; but the name and genius of Montrose made up for all deficiencies. The covenanters, making an attack upon his centre, got involved in the defiles of the village; he then closed in upon them with his wings, in which consisted the whole strength of his army. The covenanting horse,

which were ordered by Hurry to meet his attack, wheeled by mistake in a contrary direction ; and, as usual, the battle was resolved into a panic flight, in which the royalists cut down hundreds of unresisting enemies. The wreck of the covenanting army retired to Inverness.

Again Montrose was let loose upon the province of Moray, to plunder and destroy the property of his political enemies. He now caused the towns of Cullen and Garmouth to be burnt. General Baillie, who had followed him from Perth, suddenly advanced with about two thousand men to offer him battle. Weakened by the withdrawal of the Highlanders, who always went home after a battle to deposit their plunder, Montrose was obliged to retire before the enemy. He retreated into the Highlands, to recruit his ranks, and then suddenly re-appeared, July 2, before General Baillie at Alford in Aberdeenshire. Here for the first time he had a more numerous army than the general opposed to him. With about three thousand men, he attacked and quickly put to flight one of about half that number ; as usual killing great numbers in the pursuit. In the conflict, however, he lost the invaluable services of Lord Gordon, who was mortally wounded by a bullet, when in the act of seizing the covenanting General.

Five successive victories had now gilded the name of Montrose ; and though he had never yet been able to penetrate to the southern portion of Scotland, or break up the covenanting government, the King was so much elated by his success as to form a resolution

of throwing himself into Scotland, and endeavouring from that quarter to act against his enemies in England. This scheme, if effected, might have been highly advantageous; but it was disconcerted by the seizure of a messenger who carried dispatches between Montrose and the King. The defeat of the royal army at Naseby, about a fortnight before the battle of Alford, also tended to counteract any decisive result which might have otherwise sprung from Montrose's victories.

The Committee of Parliament, which managed the affairs of Scotland, though very much perplexed by the late events, and further embarrassed by a pestilence which prevailed in Edinburgh, had yet some further resources for the protection of the covenant. A general muster throughout Fife and the southern counties brought several thousands of raw militia to the rendezvous at Perth, where they had resolved to make their last stand. Montrose, recruited by immense accessions from the Hebrides and other quarters, which were brought to him by Mac-Col, descended to meet this huge army. On presenting himself in the neighbourhood of Perth, it could not be drawn from its position; the covenanting leaders were so much afraid, that they could not venture to make a single movement so long as he was within sight. He then swept past their camp, and passed into the southern division of Scotland, which they had been so anxious to protect. As he traversed Glendevon, the clan Maclean, which formed a large division of his army, set fire to Castle Campbell, the beautifully pic-

turesque seat of the Marquis of Argyle, who, as their ancient feudal enemy, had committed many similar ravages in their country. The covenanting army followed by the same route, and Argyle, in revenge for the destruction of his property, burnt the two neighbouring seats of Menstrie and Airthrie, which belonged to royalists.

On the 15th of August, the two armies met at Kilsyth, a village between Stirling and Glasgow. Montrose, finding that the covenanters were about to overtake him, assumed a strong position in the enclosures around the village. General Baillie, who commanded the covenanters, was obliged by a directing committee of parliament to lead forward his troops under great disadvantages. Montrose, however, had never found an enemy which met his encounter with so much resolution. It was only by the singular keenness of the Highland onset, supported by a well-timed charge of horse under Lord Airly, that he was able to stagger the immense masses of the covenanting army. After a brief but animated conflict, the Fife militia lost heart and fled. The horse then turned, and riding over the remaining infantry, completed the route. Montrose's soldiers pursued with their usual eagerness, and are said to have killed very nearly the whole of the six thousand foot which had been opposed to them. The consequence was, that the covenanting government was completely broken up; the whole of Scotland fell under the power of the victor; the capital, which he was only prevented from entering on account of the plague, sent him its submission, and dismissed all the

royalist prisoners from its jail : and Montrose wrote to the King, in scriptural language, to come and take the kingdom, lest he should make it his own.

It was the misfortune of Montrose, that, owing to the habits of his Highland adherents, he never could follow up any of his victories. A few days after his splendid success at Kilsyth, he was reduced to a weaker relative condition than at any former time. Only about a thousand men remained under his standard. The King had pointed out to him that the Earls of Home, Roxburgh, and Traquair, with the Marquis of Douglas, all of whom were royalists, might join him with many retainers, if he could descend into the border counties. He now, therefore, led his small bands into Clydesdale, Teviotdale, and the Selkirkshire Forest, and endeavoured to procure reinforcements. Unfortunately, the loyalist noblemen were not yet sufficiently confident to come boldly forward. They knew that the royal cause, from its decline in England, could not be long supported in Scotland. They also knew that the Scottish parliamentary government, though obliged to retire from the kingdom, was preparing to bring down a large detachment of the army from England, in order to overwhelm Montrose. Thus, he only risked himself in an open country, without gaining the advantages which he expected.

On the 11th of September he was encamped at Philiphaugh, in the neighbourhood of Selkirk, with less than a thousand foot and five hundred horse, when there suddenly appeared, through the mists of the morning, a large detachment of horse, which had

been sent from the army at Newcastle, under David Leslie, and which, owing to the carelessness of his scouts, had approached him unperceived. Hastily ranking up his men, he received the charge of the covenanting squadron with great firmness. But his weak forces were unable to withstand the great weight, and the cool deliberate courage of the enemy. After a fierce and desperate encounter, his horse broke and fled ; the foot threw themselves into a position upon the neighbouring hill, and endeavoured to capitulate. He himself retired with a small troop to Peebles, and from thence cut his way to the Highlands. The covenanting general followed up his victory by massacring about a hundred Irish prisoners in cold blood, the English Parliament having passed an ordinance some time before, subjecting all Irish Catholics that might be found in arms to that fate.

The covenanting government, or Committee of Parliament, now resumed its functions ; and its first act, at the earnest request of the clergy, was to decree the death of several royalists of distinction, who had become prisoners at Philiphaugh. Amongst these was Sir Robert Spottiswoode, son to Archbishop Spottiswoode, who had been chiefly instrumental in introducing the episcopal system some years before. This gentleman, who had been sent down to join Montrose as the King's Secretary for Scotland, was executed purely to gratify the vengeful feelings of the church against his father and family.

The advance of winter, the continued decline of the royal cause in England, and the loss of his invincible

reputation, prevented Montrose from resuming hostilities with any effect. He spent the winter and spring in unavailing marches through the Highlands, and at length in summer consented to an arrangement, chiefly brought about by the King, in consequence of which he was safely transported out of the country, and landed in Norway.

The victories of this extraordinary champion are universally acknowledged to have done more ill than good to his royal master; for, while they never were adequate to turn the tide in his favour, they exasperated his enemies more bitterly against him, and greatly increased the difficulty of a reconciliation. There is no denying, however, that, in a military point of view, the career of Montrose was splendid. Without a warlike education, he sprung at once from the condition of a simple Scotch nobleman into the fame of a great general. His means all along were most inadequate to his ends; but by the quickness of his movements he multiplied the number of his armies, and by the vigour of his attacks he redoubled their individual efficacy. His system of tactics in some measure shadowed forth that of Napoleon Buonaparte: the appointments of his troops were a matter of indifference: so that he could sustain their enthusiasm, he cared for nothing else; and he always brought his whole force to bear upon the weakest point of the enemy, as the most ready means of discomfiting the whole. It is alleged, in depreciation of his successes, that they led to no permanent conquest—that they gained him no fortified places, and left him at the end

of the sixth victory exactly the same guerilla chief which he had been at the first; but this was owing to the habits of his men, who, being chiefly volunteers, went and came as they chose, so that his whole career was a series of desultory attacks upon various bodies of militia. What he did was wonderful enough, and ought not to be the less wonderful because he did not perform greater miracles still. He was, however, an eminently cruel general, even in an age when the massacre of a civic population or of an unresisting enemy was still held as a fair part of warfare.

At the time when the royal cause began to sink before the parliamentary forces, some changes had taken place in the relations of Scotland and England. Before the Solemn League and Covenant was ratified between the two kingdoms in 1643, the English people and parliament had shown great partiality for the presbyterian system of religion; and the Scots had hitherto performed their part in the war, with the hope that, when the King was brought under, that system should be established in the place of episcopacy. English puritanism, however, though at first it seemed likely to run into presbytery, had latterly assumed in a great measure a different aspect. An influential part of the parliament and nation, and nearly the whole of the army, saw that presbytery, though rejecting an earthly supremacy, was as well calculated to become a state engine as episcopacy; and they thought it better to acknowledge no species of church government, nor any clerical body whatever, but each to worship God in his own way. This class

it down this loyal crusade; and
Presbyterian party resumed an
ant.

ed by the independent general
favour of that faction. He
the combined army at Pres-
Hamilton closed an inglorious
himself, with three thou-

The party in Scotland, who
seized the reins of power,
ons by Cromwell, who for
to Edinburgh. In a very

prostrated beneath the
is had originally raised
in a far less severe rule;

to a half ecclesiastical
re tyrannical and inte-
re been known. In

become a considera-
l under that enthu-
ty violent measures

to men now at the

erty was called,
dependents now

erians had it in
where could be

this account,
they resolved

ignomi-

Charles afterwards escaped to the Isle of Wight, where he was taken under the protection of a sort of neutral power, the governor of Carisbrook Castle. While in this situation, he received renewed proposals from both the presbyterian and the independent parties. Without distinctly closing with either, he permitted a body of Scottish commissioners to understand that, if they would procure his restoration, he should allow the presbyterian mode of church-government a trial of three years, but without making it imperative upon either himself or others to adopt that form of worship.

The Marquis of Hamilton, now created Duke, took the lead in this agreement, which was reduced to the form of a treaty. It met with the approbation of a large moderate party in Scotland, but was violently condemned by the wilder presbyterians, whom nothing could satisfy but a distinct ratification of the Covenant by the King. An armament was then prepared at Edinburgh, for the purpose of invading England in behalf of the King. The more enthusiastic clergy denounced the project as utterly adverse to religion; but nevertheless about fifteen thousand troops were mustered; and with these the Duke of Hamilton marched into England, (July 1648,) where he was aided by a large party of English loyalists, under Sir Marmaduke Langdale. Several risings about the same time took place throughout England and Wales, and the people every where showed that a reaction had begun to take place in favour of the King. Cromwell had to leave London with a great part of the

troops, in order to put down this loyal crusade ; and in his absence the presbyterian party resumed an ascendancy in parliament.

A single victory gained by the independent general restored the balance in favour of that faction. He encountered and defeated the combined army at Preston in Lancashire, and Hamilton closed an inglorious campaign by surrendering himself, with three thousand horse, at Uttoxeter. The party in Scotland, who had opposed the expedition, seized the reins of power, being assisted in their designs by Cromwell, who for that purpose made a journey to Edinburgh. In a very short time England was again prostrated beneath the despotism of an army which it had originally raised and paid for its protection from a far less severe rule ; while Scotland was subjected to a half ecclesiastical species of government, much more tyrannical and intolerant than what had ever before been known. In both countries religion had now become a consideration paramount to all others, and under that enthusiasm the public was prepared for any violent measures which might be brought about by the men now at the head of affairs.

The *engagement*, as Hamilton's treaty was called, proved ruinous to the King. The independents now saw, that so long as he and the presbyterians had it in their power to form leagues together, there could be no safety for a more liberal party. On this account, as well as from a principle of revenge, they resolved to bring the monarch to the same public and ignomi-

nious death which had already been endured by several of his principal counsellors.

The nation at large was averse from such a project. The Scots also regarded it with horror, not only from their monarchical prepossessions, but because it was a violation of the Covenant, which solemnly professed a regard to the King's person. In both countries, however, the fighting men on the King's side, whether cavaliers or presbyterians, had recently suffered very severe defeats, which unfitted them for remonstrating effectually against the proceedings of the independents. An army of about eight thousand men in London, and some smaller parties scattered about the provinces, were, at this particular crisis, sufficient to bring the sovereign to the block, against the general inclination of the people. Such an ascendancy had this veteran and enthusiastic soldiery gained over the nation.

In the first place, a troop of horse under Colonel Pride was sufficient to expel from the House of Commons all but the independent members. A court was then formed by an ordinance of parliament for trying the King. A slight opposition, presented by what now remained of the House of Lords, was met by an ordinance self-decreeing the supremacy of the House of Commons, as the only representative of the will of the English people. Before a court thus constituted by an exertion of armed force, Charles was tried January 20, 1649, and found guilty of raising war against his people, which had previously been declared by the parliament an act of treason. He was accordingly beheaded, January 30th, upon a scaffold erected in

front of his own palace ; an event which filled all persons both in Scotland and England with grief, except the small band of republican and sectarian fanatics who had carried it into effect.

King Charles I. left, by his wife Henrietta-Maria of France, six children. Charles, the eldest, was now eighteen years of age. James, the next son, who afterwards became king under the title of James II. had with his brother escaped abroad. The Princess Mary was the wife of the statholder of Holland, and became the mother of King William III. Henrietta, a younger daughter, was the ancestress of the royal family of Sardinia, in which now resides the right to the British throne, upon the usual hereditary principle.

CHAPTER V.

CHARLES II. BEFRIENDED BY THE SCOTS—
COMMONWEALTH.

THE Scottish nation, as already explained, had never entertained any other views in this civil war, than the establishment of a peculiar form of religion : they were firmly attached to a monarchical form of government. During the short period of Hamilton's engagement, which contemplated an almost unconditional restoration of the King, the more enthusiastic part of the clergy and nation had been induced to co-operate with the Independents ; being more alarmed at the prospect of a revival of episcopacy, along with the royal power, than at the sectarian and republican doctrines of the rival party. Now that the independents had broken through the Covenant by putting the King to death, the whole nation, with one voice, called for the acknowledgment of his son Charles II. with whom they immediately opened a treaty, engaging to aid in procuring his restoration, provided only that he would sign the document so often alluded to, and thereby bind himself to establish the presbyterian worship over all his dominions.

The young and disinherited King was naturally

anxious to be restored. Being comparatively indifferent on the subject of religion, and more disposed than his father to bend to circumstances, he expressed little reluctance to sign the Covenant, which to him appeared only an expedient for obtaining a temporary advantage.

While the negotiations were proceeding, Charles was distracted by an offer from the Marquis of Montrose, who had become one of the principal courtiers. This nobleman, with his characteristic boldness, proposed that, before acceding to the offer of the Covenanters, whose conditions would leave him only the appearance of sovereignty, he should permit a last effort to be made by the royalist party in Scotland, which, if successful, would procure for him an unconditional restoration of the royal power and prerogative. This scheme Montrose himself proposed to carry into execution, only requiring a small foreign force to support him in making the attempt, and a quantity of stores and ammunition. Charles consented to the proposal, and thereby has subjected himself to an imputation of duplicity, for which there can be no excuse, except his difficult position and his extreme youth.

Montrose, invested with the character of his Majesty's Lieutenant, and accompanied by a few foreign mercenaries, landed in Orkney, March 1650, and being joined by some recruits from that insular territory, was able to appear in the north of Scotland with about fifteen hundred men. He expected to be reinforced by large levies in the northern counties; but in this

he was, in a great measure, disappointed, on account of the precautions which had been taken by the government, and the infamy which his name carried among all but the more zealous cavaliers. As he advanced, his army was lessened by the necessity of leaving small garrisons in fortified places, to keep a path open behind him. When he arrived at Strath-eckle, on the confines of Sutherland and Ross, it amounted only to twelve hundred men. To oppose his advance, the Earl of Sutherland had endeavoured to raise his numerous clan, and Lieutenant-Colonel Strachan was sent to the north, with two hundred and fifty veteran horse. The Earl having cut off all means of intelligence from the south, Strachan reached the camp of Montrose without his approach being even suspected, and, having divided his force into four squadrons, instantly made the attack. Montrose drew off his infantry to a hill, and stood his ground with great resolution; but nothing could avail against the powerful charge of the covenanters. After a brief contest, the greater part of the loyalists threw away their arms and fled. Two hundred were drowned in a neighbouring river; four hundred made prisoners. Ten officers of distinction and several hundred soldiers were killed. Montrose himself, after fighting for some time with desperate but unavailing valour, had his horse shot under him, and was only able to quit the field of battle by the kindness of Lord Frendraught, who gave up his own steed, and was himself taken prisoner. The loss on the side of Colonel Strachan was quite trifling.

Montrose fled along the wild vale of Stratheckle, and soon got involved in a rough and pathless country, where he had to abandon his horse, and trust to make his escape on foot. One after the other, he threw away his cloak, star, and sword; and finally he exchanged clothes with a poor Highlander. Without stopping for food or rest, he toiled on night and day, and at length approached the country of Assynt, the proprietor of which had been in arms to join his host. By this person, whose name was Macleod, he was seized and delivered up to his enemies; for which act of treachery a reward of four hundred bolls of meal was given by the government. The unfortunate general was slowly conducted to Edinburgh, to suffer the fate which had been prepared for him by his enemies. On the 18th of May he landed at Leith, and was conducted on a coal-carrier's horse to the lower gate of the city. There he was transferred to a high seat at the end of a cart, and, under the auspices of the magistrates, dragged through the streets towards the public jail. As he passed a particular house, the Marquis of Argyle appeared upon a balcony, and surveyed from that secure station an enemy whom he had never been able to face in the field. Montrose met his gaze with a countenance as firm and majestic as if he had been the triumphant, instead of the debased party. After a tedious procession of three hours, this great public culprit was deposited in the Tolbooth. From the very commencement of his former insurrection, he had been attainted by the Scottish parliament as a traitor; all that was now necessary was to pass the

sentence of death. Being conducted to the Parliament House, he was permitted to speak in his own defence; but as his vindication necessarily implied the condemnation of his self-constituted judges, it did not meet a very respectful hearing. After his speech was done, sentence was passed upon him, and he was conducted back to prison.

The behaviour of Montrose, under these circumstances, and in the last fatal scene, was consistent with his former character. He could not be induced by the clergy who flocked about him, to allow that he repented in the least of all that he had done in the cause of royalty. He preferred to remain unabsolved from a sentence of excommunication which they had formerly passed upon him; though this religious anathema shook the firmest minds in that age. He was visited by Johnston of Wariston, the clerk-register, a person who had figured conspicuously in all the popular movements of the time; who, observing him take great pains in dressing his hair, asked him if he could not find an employment better suited to his awful situation. He answered, "So long as my head is my own, I will dress it as I have been accustomed to do: to-morrow, when it is yours, you may treat it as you please." With regard to the disposal of his body after death, which formed part of his sentence, he said he was more gratified by the prospect of having his head stuck upon the jail than if a golden statue had been erected to him in the market-place, or his picture had been put up in the King's bedchamber: as to his limbs being distributed to the principal towns, he only

wished he had had a sufficient number to be scattered over all the cities of Christendom, to testify his fidelity to his sovereign. Next day he dressed himself in a splendid suit of clothes, and walked to the place of execution as if he had been one of a marriage-party. On the scaffold, the clergy renewed their applications, but with no better success than before. On this account, his last devotions were unassisted by any clergyman. After vindicating his public life to a few individuals around him, he gave a few pieces of gold to the executioner, and prepared himself for death. It had been customary during the whole civil war, to decapitate state criminals by the instrument called the *maiden* ; but Montrose was condemned to a more ignominious death, by a gibbet thirty feet high. Round his neck were tied a copy of the Declaration he had published on entering Scotland, and the volume of his Memoirs, which had been written in Latin by Wishart, and published at Amsterdam. He remarked that he was prouder of these insignia than he had been of the honourable badge of the garter. After his body had hung three hours, a spectacle to the people, it was taken down and dismembered. The head was fixed upon the pinnacle of the ancient prison of Edinburgh, in close conjunction with the skull of his maternal uncle the Earl of Gowry, which had been placed there fifty years before. The trunk was buried under a common gibbet beyond the city walls ; and the limbs were distributed to Glasgow, Stirling, Perth, and Aberdeen.

Almost immediately after the defeat of Montrose,

the young king had concluded the treaty with the Covenanters, by which, on condition of his engaging to promote the Presbyterian religion, they undertook to accept him as their sovereign, and do what they could for the advancement of his claims in England. Charles landed at Garmouth, in Moray, June 23rd, having previously been obliged to sign the Covenant on ship-board. As he advanced to Edinburgh, he had the mortification to see one of the limbs of the Marquis of Montrose exposed at Aberdeen. His court was established at the palace of Falkland, in Fife; but it was one of little splendour. With the exception of a few English adherents, all of whom had been obliged like himself to sign the Covenant, his courtiers consisted of the stern nobility who conducted affairs in Scotland, or of the more rigid clergy, who vied with each other in their endeavours to make him a sincere Presbyterian convert. The king, if not naturally susceptible of deep religious impressions, was at least philosophical enough to endure their lectures and preaching with some show of patience. He is said to have one Sunday sat out six sermons, which occupied nearly the whole day. He also suffered with marvellous composure the freedoms of speech which these preachers felt it their duty to use in giving him advice, or rebuking the gaities in which he was wont to indulge.

He was in reality but a puppet sovereign. The real power of the state remained with the Marquis of Argyll, the Chancellor Earl of Loudoun, Sir Archibald Johnston of Wariston, and other men who had acted a

chief part in the resistance to the late monarch. The whole design and policy of the Scottish people on this occasion was based in error. They had suffered so much in behalf of their system of religion, and of the national bond which supported it, that they had last come to place their whole hopes of happiness, both in this world and the next, in the project of rendering it universally supreme in Britain. A mere toleration of it, as one of the many religious systems of the day, would not satisfy them: they considered themselves bound to take every expedient for rooting out other systems, although it is evident to a modern comprehension that the adherents of these other systems were as sincerely pious as themselves, and a great deal more liberal. With that blindness, moreover, which befalls all who foster an extreme enthusiasm, they had forgot the spirit of their system in battling for its externals: the Covenant had almost become their religion, and to subscribe that was to enter at once into their fellowship of faith. Hence they overlooked the personal character of the young king, and even his principles of action, notorious as these had been rendered by the expedition of Montrose, and thought all was right when they had induced him to put his name to their national bond. It is clear that a desire of advancing their own church by a faithless alliance with one who was, if any thing, an episcopalian, and therefore a common enemy, was an insufficient reason for their entering into war with another body of religionists, who had lately been their brethren in arms and in

policy, and who were still willing to be allied with them, upon principles mutually advantageous.

The English sectaries were reluctantly compelled by the proceedings in Scotland to enter into a war. Cromwell was recalled from Ireland, and placed at the head of an army of sixteen thousand men. On the 19th of July this body crossed the Tweed, and entered upon a country, which, according to the ancient custom, had been laid waste to the very gates of the capital. The policy of the Scots was to rest their troops upon Edinburgh, and stand upon the defensive. The king was brought, July 29th, to view the army, but not permitted to assume any command. It was placed under the care of their general, David Leslie, the hero of Philiphaugh. At the very time when Cromwell was pitching his camp at Musselburgh, the Scottish leaders were busied in weeding the army of all who were suspected of being loyal to the monarch for his own sake, or of being indifferent Presbyterians; and after thousands of good soldiers had been thus dismissed, the remainder was dignified with the appellation of the *kirk army*, and fondly hoped to be as invincible in arms as it was pure in faith.

Cromwell soon found that the position of the Scots was not to be assailed. He lingered for several weeks at Musselburgh, vainly endeavouring to bring them out to a fair fight. At length the failure of his provisions obliged him to withdraw towards England. There is but one way by which an army can retire from this part of Scotland to the border, namely, the

ancient road along the east coast of Lothian and Berwickshire. At one part of that road was the pass of the Peaths, where a very powerful army might have easily been destroyed by a comparatively small force. Cromwell, being followed close by the Scots in his retreat, found, when he reached Dunbar, that this pass would endanger his further progress. He was therefore obliged, on the 1st and 2nd of September, to stand here at bay, while the Scottish army hovered over him upon the skirts of the Lammermoor Hills. This great soldier was never, before or after, in more imminent danger than now. To add to his distress, a great number of his men were sick.

It was the policy of the Scots to wait till their great sectarian enemy should be obliged to deliver himself up to them. Such was the opinion of their general, and such was the line of conduct pointed out by the exactly similar circumstances which had taken place on the same ground in an earlier period of Scottish history. * But the Scots were inflamed with the triumph of pursuing Cromwell, and the ministers, who constituted a very influential part of the host, could brook no delay. Leslie, thus overruled, led down the army from the hills, and on the morning of the 3d of September, presented him-

* The same hills had been thus occupied by the army of John Baliol in 1296. Edward's English army lay below, where Cromwell's was now placed. The former were routed, in consequence of having left their advantageous position; a chain of circumstances precisely the same as what now took place.

mitted as a friendly party, would be tempted to act as an additional enemy.

Such were the transactions of the autumn of 1650. While the Scottish army revived in as great strength as ever before Stirling, Cromwell lay at Linlithgow, prevented by a sickness which pervaded his camp from making any active exertions. On the 1st of January 1651, Charles was crowned at Scone as King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland, and at the same time renewed his oath of adherence to the two Covenants in the most solemn manner. Many of his most zealous friends were about the same time admitted to situations of trust; Buckingham, for instance, was made an extraordinary member of the Committee of Estates. Yet still it was necessary, for the sake of preserving appearances with the people, that all things should be done with an eminent respect for the Covenantant.

As the summer advanced, Cromwell saw the necessity of bringing the contest to an issue; for he dreaded to spend another winter in an unfriendly country where fresh provisions were scarcely to be had. He accordingly attempted to turn the position of the Scottish army, by throwing a detachment across the Forth at Queensferry, with orders to advance into the north. A larger party came to oppose this force, and a battle took place at Inverkeithing, in which the English were successful, beating back their opponents with a loss of about two hundred killed, six hundred prisoners, and sixty stands of colours. Cromwell then advanced to Perth, which surrendered to him at the

first call; and thus he was enabled to cut off the valuable communications which the Scottish army had hitherto maintained with the Highlands.

Charles, who now was permitted to command the army, took a resolution under these circumstances, which was worthy of a Scottish king. He resolved to take advantage of Cromwell's present position, to advance into England, and endeavour to raise the English loyalists. This project met with general approbation, and was only opposed with any degree of violence by the Marquis of Argyle, who represented to the King that he ought to be content for the present with the recovery of Scotland, and that the expedition of Hamilton was a warning beacon against another attempt to rouse the English cavaliers. But this nobleman, who had all along had a kind of good fortune in avoiding the dangers of war, was permitted to retire home upon the plea of his *wife's health*; and there remained no longer any opposition. Accordingly, the Scottish army began its march about the beginning of August, entering England by the western border. Cromwell followed at the distance of two or three days' march; and at his solicitation the English Parliament raised the militia to oppose the invasion. It was soon evident that the attempt was premature. The loyalists nowhere rose in great strength; the militia mustered between the army and the capital. Charles was at length obliged to halt at Worcester, and await the attack of Cromwell. A battle took place near that city on the 3d of September, which was the anniversary of the fight at Dunbar. The

Scots defended themselves with desperate valour for several hours, but after having repelled the main host of the enemy, were at length obliged to yield to a strong re-inforcement which happened to come up. Cromwell gained another hard-won and splendid victory. Two thousand of the Scots were slain; six or seven thousand taken prisoners. Among the latter were the Duke of Hamilton, who died of his wounds next day, and twelve other noblemen. The King escaped in solitary flight, and encountered the greatest hardships and dangers ere he could get out of the kingdom. It affords a curious view of the character of the victors, that, both on this occasion, and after the battle of Dunbar, they sold a great number of the prisoners as slaves to the plantations. Their own endeavours to render themselves a little more free than they had previously been, had not produced any prepossession for abstract liberty, but rather brought them into a situation where they thought it no crime to reduce other men, born equally free with themselves, to absolute bondage. This fact tends to show that the most zealous sticklers for liberal institutions, are not necessarily the most liberal in the exercise of any power which they may themselves possess.

The military power of Scotland was almost entirely broken by these two defeats, one of which had crippled the more zealous Presbyterians, while the second had destroyed the moderate party, together with the cavaliers. There did not now remain in Scotland any party sufficient to hold out against the English republic. General Monk, who had been left in the country

by Cromwell, applied himself diligently to reduce the few forts and towns which maintained any appearance of resistance. He found some difficulty in obtaining possession of Dundee, where the Scottish nobility and gentry had deposited a great quantity of their moveable wealth. But, by giving up this town to pillage and massacre, according to the policy pursued by Cromwell in Ireland, he frightened the nation into a speedy submission. In a short time the whole country, except some parts of the Highlands, lay prostrate and unresisting beneath the sway of about five thousand English—not the tenth part of many southern armies which had formerly been resisted with success. The formal submission of the kingdom to the English Parliament, was ratified on the 2d of April, 1652, at Dalkeith, where Monk established his head-quarters. A small detachment of English judges was sent down to administer justice, and commissioners were appointed for both kingdoms to deliberate upon an incorporating union. The General Assembly of the Church was broken up and dispersed by a troop of dragoons ; but, while the clergy were thus deprived of all collective power, no disturbance was given to their exertions as ministers of religion. Perhaps the most striking part of this picture of national humiliation was the condition of the nobles. These men, who had acted the most conspicuous parts during the civil war, were now deprived of all influence, and many of them reduced to poverty. The people at large were severely galled by the English yoke, which was both a political and religious oppression ; but they nevertheless seemed to

feel some consolation in reflecting that all parties were alike galled. The Cavaliers had now no advantage over the Presbyterians; while neither the moderate nor the zealous party of the Presbyterians could say that their own condition was more honourable than that of their opponents. All the English writers agree in describing the miserable condition of the people, both as to their minds and as to their persons. Many of them were half naked and half starved; and the English judges were astonished at the amount of monstrous crimes that fell under their notice. In the first session, four hundred cases of violence and bloodshed, arising out of private quarrels, were presented for trial; and in one day they had to dispose of no fewer than sixty cases of witchcraft.

The English republic was, soon after this period, proved to be an entire failure. In April, 1653, Cromwell was enabled, by his command over the army, to expel the parliament from its place of assembly, and assume the supreme power into his own hands. In July, he was pleased to call another parliament for form's sake. It consisted of one hundred and thirty-nine persons, of whom four were from Scotland. This body acquired the popular nick-name of *Barebone's Parliament*, from one of the number being a leather-dealer of that extraordinary name. In reality, they were a mere set of puppets, whom Cromwell moved at his pleasure. In a few months they had acquired so much public contempt, that he found it necessary to dissolve them. A few days after, a majority of their number came before him with a formal offer of the

dignity of Protector of the three kingdoms, which he was pleased to accept. Thus did the English nation, after fighting for upwards of ten years in the cause of liberty, submit to an absolute despotism in the person of their principal military officer.

The Protector had involved himself at this time in a war with the States of Holland, which considerably embarrassed his resources. General Monk having been recalled from Scotland to take command of the fleet, some of the nobility of that country thought it a good opportunity to throw off the English yoke. Encouraged by the King, who was in close alliance with Holland, the Earls of Glencairn and Balcarres, with Lord Lorn, son to the Marquis of Argyll, raised their standards in the Highlands, and soon collected a considerable body of troops. The principles avowed in this insurrection were exclusively those of loyalty. When Balcarres attempted to make the Covenant its object, he was so effectually resisted, that he found it necessary to retire. Besides some Highland clans, the army comprehended many lowland cavaliers, and even some who had found their way from England. For many months it kept up a threatening front along the Highland line, and in several encounters with the English parties gained a decisive advantage. Early in 1654, Charles dispatched General Middleton to assume the command; and Glencairn marched northward into Sutherlandshire to meet him. But from this time the expedition did no more good. The Dutch war came to a conclusion; and this partial resistance was soon after quelled. The union of the two coun-

tries, which had been postponed in consequence of the dismissal of the Long Parliament, was now achieved by a simple proclamation from the Protector.

When Cromwell had assumed this dignity, he agreed to call a parliament upon a new principle. It consisted of four hundred and sixty members, thirty of whom were sent from Scotland, and as many from Ireland. Every person possessing property to the amount of two hundred pounds had a vote for these members. The parliament sat down on the 3rd of September, which was called Cromwell's lucky day, from its being the anniversary of his victories at Dunbar and Worcester. After it had sat about five months, he was obliged, by the tone of independence which it assumed, to treat it in the same manner as the last. Another was called next year ; but, excepting among the Scottish and Irish members, who were not elected freely, the same tone of independence prevailed ; and he was compelled to banish about a hundred hostile members, on the pretext of their immoral or irreligious lives. These facts shew, in the most convincing manner, that the power of Cromwell had no real foundation in the popular will, but was solely the creature of military despotism. The remaining members made him a formal offer of the title of King ; but he was never, in the whole course of his career, able to accept of that dignity, on account of the jealousy of his chief officers, some of whom appear to have considered that the supreme power ought to be elective among themselves. All this time, his life was harassed by fears of assassination, a crime countenanced

in this age by men of the highest rank and education. How far his present situation was the result of his own guilty ambition, or how far he was only borne on by the tide of circumstances, by him incontrollable, it would be difficult to determine; but he certainly stands a monument of the futility of ill-gotten power in producing happiness. Notwithstanding that he caused the English name to be more highly respected abroad than it had ever been under the best monarchs, the people never rested content under his sway. Even the parliaments, which he called as it were by the sound of the trumpet, and kept constantly under a guard of his own troops, were indefatigable in their endeavours to limit his power, and often spurned it altogether. In January, 1656, he adopted a very ingenious design for checking this popular body. He pretended to revive the House of Peers, which had been dissolved at the King's death; summoned eight of these dignitaries, upon whom he could depend, and mixing them up with some of his officers, set them up as a council to sanction the acts of the Commons. But the representatives of the people of England were not to be imposed upon by such a scheme. They refused to acknowledge the power of a body chiefly composed of his own creatures; and at length, in February 1656, he was forced to dissolve this parliament also. He was now as much afraid of parliaments as the late King had been, and resolved never to call another. He consequently was visited with exactly the same distresses as those which had pressed upon the unfortunate monarch. He had to levy taxes by

his own ordinance, and borrow money wherever it was to be obtained. His emissaries frequently went to ask loans from the merchants of London, and were refused.

Except for the degradation of conquest, Scotland had little to complain of during the Protectorate. All intestine disturbance was prevented by the soldiery; the country prospered under the effects of a free commerce with England; several useful arts, formerly unknown, were introduced by the military; and it was remarked that religion, so far from suffering a decay, was never known to be in a more flourishing state. As the taxes did not exceed sixty thousand pounds, while the army expenditure was at one time so high as nearly half a million, a great deal of English money was necessarily imported into the country. Justice was dispensed with an impartiality not known under the native judges; and no man of peaceable demeanour was disturbed on account of his opinions.

CHAPTER VI.

RESTORATION OF CHARLES II.—THE
“PERSECUTION.”

The difficulties and troubles in which Cromwell spent his latter years at length undermined his health, and he died on the 3rd of September, 1658, of a tertian ague. His eldest son, Richard, a good, simple-hearted youth, was proclaimed his successor; but a man, who, as Sir Harry Vane described him, could not command obedience from his own body-servants, was little qualified to exact it from a free-spirited nation. At the first, Richard received many addresses from his subjects, such as the occupancy of power may at all times command; but in a very few months, the remains of the Long Parliament having seized upon the supreme authority, he resigned his sceptre without a struggle, and retired into private life. The parliament continued in power during the summer of 1659; it then gave way to the usurpation of the army, or a council of generals. This latter government, in its turn, sunk beneath the parliament, which once more sat down on the 6th of December. The people soon became more disgusted with these changes of rulers,

than ever they had been with the arbitrary measures of Charles the First. There gradually arose a desire in the public mind for some firm and respectable kind of government, by whomsoever it was to be administered ; and the eyes of men were very generally turned towards the young King, who had now spent about eight years in exile, and was believed to have been greatly improved by his misfortunes.

It was from Scotland that the movement for his restoration was destined to be made. General Monk, who commanded the forces in that kingdom, was understood to be favourable to monarchy and to the Presbyterian religion. Perceiving that the task of settling the country was in some measure left to him, this commander prevailed upon the Scotch commissioners of counties to grant him a large subsidy, and on the 2nd of January, 1660, he entered England at Coldstream. As he marched towards London he gave out that he had taken this step in order to call a free parliament at London, by which the government might be settled. Lambert, one of the English generals, opposed him with a large force, but was overthrown. Monk was rather embarrassed on learning that the old parliament was again sitting ; but still he pushed on, and on the 3rd of February he entered London. Fear for his power alone prevented the parliament from causing him to be seized as a traitor. In a few weeks, by the exertion of great prudence, and chiefly through the support of the city of London, he succeeded in restoring to the house all those members of the Presbyterian and royalist parties, who had been secluded

by Cromwell, and whose absence had caused the remainder to be designated the *Rump*. There was then a decided majority favourable to monarchical government. When this point had been attained, Monk prevailed upon them to dissolve, and call a new parliament. Though he still preserved profound silence respecting his intentions, he now opened up a correspondence with the King, who, in compliance with his request, sent proposals to the new parliament for his restoration to power. These comprehended an offer of indemnity for all past offences which the parliament itself might not think fit for punishment; as also a toleration for all tender consciences in matters of religion. The messenger who brought the royal despatches was honourably received, and the despatches themselves read with bursts of applause. No further promise or obligation was demanded; but a deputation was immediately appointed to go to Holland, and bring over the King. Liberty had now become so unpopular, in consequence of the serious evils which the pursuit of it had occasioned, that the nation precipitated itself, without hesitation, beneath a despotism greater than that of Charles I. at the time they began to resist it. The King entered London on the 29th of May, being his thirtieth birth-day, and was received with so many tokens of joyful welcome, that it seemed difficult to believe there ever had been any real reason for his absence.

In Scotland, where the last great effort had been made to restore the monarchy, the restoration was hailed with a full share of the general satisfaction. The

leading men among the moderate party of ministers had dispatched one of their number to Holland, to confer with the King on the subject of religion, and accompany him to London. This emissary was Mr. James Sharpe, a man of superior address and accomplishment, and of moderate views. It appears that, although the King had grateful recollections of what the Scottish clergy had latterly done for him, he found it necessary, soon after arriving in England, to go along with the prevailing feeling of all around him, which was strongly in favour of the episcopal church. His chief counsellor, the Earl of Clarendon, was firmly persuaded of the necessity of an established episcopacy, for the support of a monarchy, and Charles gradually became convinced by his arguments, notwithstanding the efforts of the Earl of Lauderdale, to procure the revival of presbytery in Scotland. Mr. Sharpe had several interviews with the King, to urge the claims of the latter system; but he confessed to his constituents, that it was hardly possible to give any weight to those claims at the present juncture, when episcopacy seemed all at once to have overspread the land with the new feelings of loyalty, and every other form of worship was looked upon with suspicion and contempt, as allied to those political convulsions by which the country had suffered so much. It might be true that the Scottish Presbyterians had made great struggles for the King, at a time when hardly any episcopalians had dared to show face in his behalf; but then it was equally true that the claims of presbytery had given the first impulse to

the *great rebellion*, as it was now called, and were the remote cause of the late King's death. Moreover, the exertions of the presbyterians had not been made in the full confiding spirit of loyalty, but with a view to great restrictions of the prerogative, and were fully as much inspired, perhaps, by antipathy to another party of the King's enemies as by favour towards himself. The episcopalians, on the other hand, loved monarchy for its own sake, and now rallied round the crown without the least desire to trouble it with limitations. While the presbyterians acknowledged no earthly superior in ecclesiastical matters, the episcopalians heartily recognised the King's supremacy. It was natural for Charles to favour that religion which most favoured him, and which promised to give him greatest strength against the large scattered masses of fanatics and republicans, which still existed in both countries, but chiefly in England. If there seemed any wrong or any injustice in establishing this church in Scotland, where it had hitherto been favoured by only a small minority, it might be represented to him, on the other hand, that Scotland was as liable to a conversion under the influence of loyal feeling as England, and at the very worst, that it was safer to gratify the episcopalians, who were obviously strong enough in both countries to maintain his government, than to lose part of their favour and endanger the endurance of their establishment, by setting up a hostile system as a kind of standard of revolt, in however remote or unimportant a part of the empire.

In pursuance of these views, the force of which

must be acknowledged, while the principles may be condemned, the Marquis of Argyle, who had been the leader of the presbyterian interest during the war, was seized when attempting to approach the King at Whitehall; and, being conveyed to Scotland, was tried and condemned to lose his head. There can be no doubt that, if the resistance to Charles I. was high treason, the Marquis was deeply guilty; but it seemed strange in the eyes of men, that since that guilt had been incurred, the present sovereign should have condescended to honour him with his chief confidence during his residence in Scotland, and even made some proposals to marry his daughter. It might have been expected from the King's taste, whatever was to be hoped for from his justice, that he would have hesitated to mark himself out as the companion and obliged servant of a rebel grandee, suspected of being accessory to his father's death. The Marquis was beheaded on the 27th of May 1661, and his execution was followed by that of his co-patriot Wariston, and of Mr. Guthry, a clergyman of the more zealous party.

By the Restoration, the kingdom of Scotland had again become distinct from England. Separate ministers were appointed to manage its affairs, and a Parliament was opened on the 1st of January, under the charge of General Middleton, who was now raised to the rank of an Earl. At one sweep the representatives of these nations rescinded the acts of the last twenty-two years, so as to restore all matters to the condition in which they stood at the beginning of the

war. By this act, all the provisions for the establishment of presbytery fell to the ground, and episcopacy was virtually replaced. But this great business was also made the subject of direct acts of the legislature, and in May 1662 the bishops and archbishops were appointed. Mr. Sharpe, who had been sent to court to superintend the interests of presbytery, came back archbishop of St. Andrew's, and head of the episcopal church; a piece of treachery for which he has been justly execrated by posterity. The rest of the prelates, with the exception of one, were not men of high character; for this dignity had been spurned by all the most distinguished presbyterian clergymen to whom it had been offered.

It does not appear that this change was at first unpopular in any eminent degree. The clergy, who had not hitherto taken any strong measures to express their favour for presbytery, did not now exclaim very loudly against the introduction of an opposite system. The nation itself gave no symptoms of violent disgust; the whole seemed to be looked upon as a proper consequence of the restoration of royalty. It must be remarked, the innovation was felt chiefly in the government of the church, not in its forms of worship. The bishops merely became the superiors of the church courts, so as to give weight to the royal power among the clergy; there were no ceremonies, no liturgy, no new forms, to shock the prejudices of the worshippers. Every minister might have continued to preach as formerly, if his conscience would have permitted him to abandon that ideal supremacy, that

STORY OF SCOTLAND

ERNEST PEARSON

BY ROBERT CHAMBERLAIN

WITH ILLUSTRATIONS BY

THE
PUBLISHERS

S II.

97

and made several
bring the recu-
expedients, how-
nists could easily
which they pro-
ore embarrassing
s, that it would
ging the govern-
worst, being the
could be brought
a regular stipend.
e example of the
l, three thousand
e day rather than
rnment.

a manner broken
terian systems in
ld not ever after-
field to those regu-
lemned; nor could
s without virtually
premacv over the
o take the seceding
a more compliant
northern counties,
osed to episcopacy
for young licentiates
o the vacant pulpits,
or the duty. In the
d, the clergy appear

independence of all worldly patronage and control, which formed the distinguishing feature of the presbyterian system, and which, though still nominally maintained, is evidently, in its real extent, a thing incompatible with civil government.

All, however, was lost by the imprudence of the government agents. Middleton, to whom the King had entrusted the chief management of affairs, was a coarse and debauched soldier, without the least prudence or political skill. Having taken a tour to the west, in order to give the countenance of government to the Archbishop of Glasgow, he was informed by that prelate that the most of the clergy refused to accept of new ordination, or to seek for re-appointment from the patrons of their parishes, professing that they were already in full and lawful enjoyment both of the clerical character and of their parochial charges, to which they had been called by the people. By the advice of the archbishop, Middleton issued an illegal act of council, commanding the recusant clergy to conform before a particular day, on pain of being expelled from their benefices. This decisive measure, instead of hastening an obedience to the new church government, rendered that almost impossible. To the surprise of the government and the bishops, three hundred clergymen in that district gave up their charges rather than obey. There can be no doubt that the interests of the government and of the church were betrayed by this rashness of two of their officers; and it is to them alone that the ensuing mischief is to be traced. When Sharpe learned what had

taken place, he was struck with grief and made several attempts, by granting further time, to bring the recalcitrant clergymen into obedience. All expedients, however were unavailing. The non-conformists could easily calculate that the religious desolation which they produced in so large a district must be more embarrassing to the government than to themselves, that it would indeed be the quickest way of bringing the government to their terms; and that at the worst, being the favourites of the people, they never could be brought to any inconvenience by the want of a regular stipend. They were further encouraged by the example of the presbyterian clergymen in England, three thousand of whom resigned their charges in one day rather than comply with the desires of the government.

The wand of peace was thus in a manner broken between the episcopal and presbyterian systems in Scotland. The ejected clergy could not ever afterwards, consistently with principle, yield to those regulations which they had already condemned; nor could the bishops appease their scruples without virtually abandoning all pretensions to supremacy over the church. It was found necessary to take the seceding ministers at their word, and plant a more compliant set of men in their places. The northern counties, which had always been more disposed to episcopacy than to presbytery, were ransacked for young licentiates of divinity, who were thrust into the vacant pulpits, though in many cases very unfit for the duty. In the remaining two thirds of Scotland, the clergy appear

to have generally conformed to the rules laid down by the prelates.

Perhaps, even after all the violence which had already been exhibited, the apostolic church might have obtained a firm footing in Scotland. Though the new incumbents were in many places resisted by every means which the people had in their power, in others a disposition was shown to accept of their ministration in a meek and kindly spirit. Unfortunately it was found necessary to resort to still more violent measures against the non-conformist clergy, many of whom, by holding prayer-meetings in their own houses, had attracted the congregations from the churches. An act of council was issued, forbidding these ministers to approach their respective parishes nearer than twenty miles, or any royal burgh nearer than three. The people were also commanded to attend regularly at their parish churches under very heavy penalties. These edicts defeated themselves by their own severity, and rather extended than repressed the spirit of resistance. The new clergy were by them rendered so odious to the natives at large, that even the little favour they at first experienced was quickly lost.

The Presbyterian historians represent, with much force of description, the detriment which Scotland sustained from these changes. Previous to the Restoration, the people were living contentedly under clergymen of their own choosing, who were all bound by the Covenant to one uniform object, and were most earnestly concerned for the spiritual progress of their

flocks. So truly effectual had religion been in producing good works, that a traveller might have roamed through the whole country without ever hearing an oath, and tavern-keepers were almost ruined for want of business. Every parish had its minister, every village its school, every family—almost every individual—a copy of the Scriptures; public worship took place three times every week, and in every house private devotions were performed by the father of the family both in the morning and evening. The whole land, indeed, was in the highest state of moral and religious culture. All was changed under the new government. A great proportion of the *curates*, as the episcopal clergy were called, thought it a matter of duty, like other cavaliers, at this insane time, to exemplify an entirely opposite line of conduct to that held by the Puritans. Along with some worse vices, that of drunkenness prevailed almost universally amongst them; for sobriety, strange to say, was now deemed a rebellious virtue, and no man in his senses could be loyal. Among the larger class of clergymen who had complied with the new rules, the people also discerned a falling off both in the external virtues and in the efficacy of their ministrations. These men seemed no longer to be the bold advocates and examples of virtue which they once had been, as if a consciousness of having deserted their own obligations had deprived them of all power to enforce those of their flocks.

The fatal consequences of Middleton's rashness were soon made apparent at the English court, and in the beginning of the year 1663 he was supplanted in

power by the Earl of Lauderdale, who had hitherto been only Secretary of State. Lauderdale, who was naturally a man of coarse and cruel character, had figured towards the close of the Civil War as a zealous Covenanter, and, being taken at the battle of Worcester, suffered imprisonment in the Tower during the whole period of the Protectorate, till he was at length relieved by General Monk. The experience of such severe hardships was enough to have given even a sounder Covenanter some distaste to all popular movements, and accordingly he now became an enthusiastic royalist. He joined the King at Breda, just before the Restoration, and was so fortunate as to recommend himself very powerfully to the royal favour. It is said that he desired the King to establish presbytery in Scotland, as the form of church government most beloved by the people; but he does not appear to have been in the least disappointed on finding his counsels overruled. The truth is, religion was now in some discredit among such men as Lauderdale. The attempts to establish it on a better footing had produced an age of war and calamity; and it was felt by the adherents of the new government that that form of church government was the best which promised to afford most effectual support to the state. It was remarked at this time that several great state-officers who lent themselves willingly to the introduction of prelacy into Scotland, chose, on their death-beds, to be attended by presbyterian clergymen—by those very men whom they had assisted to expel from their livings; thereby proving that they had sacrificed

their own personal feelings to a sense of political expediency. This caused the Duke of York (brother of the King) to remark that all Scotsmen, whatever they might pretend, were at heart presbyterians.

It had been thought proper, soon after the King's return, to withdraw the English garrisons, and raze the forts erected by Cromwell, partly to gratify the national feelings, and partly that the people might not look for any support in their religious prepossessions to a soldiery more zealous than themselves. At Lauderdale's instigation, the parliament now agreed to maintain a native army of twenty-two thousand horse and foot, not only for the support of the government in Scotland, but to serve the King in any other part of his dominions. By this Lauderdale showed to Charles that he might depend upon an armed force from Scotland, in the event of his making any attempt to render himself absolute. Such a design had already been agitated.

It may perhaps be remarked that, as all these proceedings were sanctioned by the estates in parliament, they must have been agreeable to a majority of the nation, and therefore not liable to the charge of being unduly tyrannical. But it is to be kept in mind that the Scottish estates was not a free assembly. The elections for the burghs were often at the dictation of the chancellor; and it was always possible to eject a number of obnoxious members by subjecting them to the severe tests imposed by the government. It is to be acknowledged, however, that the covenanters had

supplied the cavaliers with examples for these arbitrary practices. The chancellor Loudoun used to send circulars to the burghs, desiring them to take care that they returned godly representatives*, that is to say, men who would give no opposition to the small body of influential persons who managed the popular interest; and if a cavalier member chanced to be returned, or could venture to appear, he was sure to be stopped at the threshold of parliament by some objection to his morality or his faith. And it is also to be acknowledged that many of the covenanting parliaments were composed of only a small junto commissioned from certain parts of the country, the majority being intimidated from attending. Thus may the proceedings of a liberal and popular government afford precedents for the most tyrannical and dangerous measures.

By the royal authority, a Court of High Commission was erected, for the trial of all offences against the state-religion. It was composed of nine prelates and thirty-five laymen; but one prelate, with four assistants, were enabled to sit, at any time or place, as a quorum. This court could be considered in no other light than as an inquisition. It required no evidence to condemn, and it admitted none to excuse. The unhappy persons dragged before it were generally condemned from some expressions of their own, or for refusing to answer questions. It was equally dangerous to speak and to be silent. The condemned were

* The present writer has seen and perused the original of one of these letters in the archives of Dunbar.

generally sent to prison, or subjected to heavy fines. Such at length was the severity exercised by this spiritual court, that out of the thirty-five laymen, four could not be obtained to sanction its proceedings, and it then expired amidst general contempt. Its fate reminds us that the prelates were at this time by far the most eager instruments of the government. They were at the bottom of some of the severest and most arbitrary measures, and often complained of the remiss way in which these were put in force by the state officers. They seemed totally deficient in that mildness which has invariably been the characteristic of the English church; a fact only to be accounted for by a reference to the rigid character of the profession in which they had been educated, and the feelings which their apostacy had engrafted upon it. It is humiliating to a Scotsman, that out of the whole thirteen, Leighton, an Englishman, alone exhibited any thing like a spirit of christian charity or meekness. This amiable man was at the first bishop of Dunblane, and afterwards archbishop of Glasgow; but he eventually resigned his see, and retired to his native country, quite tired out, it appeared, with the barbarities which he saw practised in the name of religion.

Some troops of life-guards had been raised immediately after the Restoration, for the purpose of enforcing the behests of the government. They were chiefly the younger sons and dependents of the cavalier gentry, and were raised principally in the northern counties, where presbyterianism was least in vogue. This militia was let loose upon the western counties,

under the command of Sir James Turner, an English soldier of fortune. Small parties stationed themselves at the doors of churches where clergymen of the more popular order were preaching, and as the people came out they were one by one interrogated by their booted inquisitors. If any person not belonging to the parish was found to have been hearing the sermon, he was denounced for having deserted his own parish church. Lists were also furnished by the *curates*, of persons who did not attend their ministrations; and upon all such individuals there were imposed very severe fines. Till the fines were paid, the military took free quarters in the houses of the recreants, where they assumed a license of behaviour in the highest degree revolting. Nor were the victims exclusively of the lower walks of life. Twenty gentlemen of the west were imprisoned in 1665, and confined for several years, upon suspicion of being inclined to take advantage of the war recently commenced with Holland, in order to raise an insurrection. The present rulers now imitated another piece of tyranny, for which an example had been set under the late reign of liberty; they transported many of the recusant peasantry to the West Indies, where they were sold as slaves.

Under the pressure of all these calamities, many pious clergymen and laymen sunk in despair into the grave. Among the latter was the Earl of Loudoun, who had at one time been almost the most influential man in the country. Among the former was Robert Baillie, the distinguished resolutionist clergyman: this person had additional reason to regret the misery which

now befel his country, for he conceived that the moderate church party, to which he belonged, had been, however innocently, conducive to the restoration of episcopacy, and had supplied all the instruments for re-erecting that form of church government. He remarked bitterly that the protesting clergy had been far wiser than his own party, in the jealousy with which they had always regarded the King.

The oppressions of the soldiers were particularly severe in the provinces of Galloway and Dumfriesshire, where, it is said, fifty thousand pounds Scots were raised by fines in a few weeks. In that district, no age, sex, or rank was spared; paupers, it is said, had to beg in order that they might discharge their fines. On the 13th of November, 1666, a poor old man was seized in the village of Dalry, in Galloway, and, as he could not buy himself off, the soldiers were threatening to strip him naked. A party of the neighbours interceded in a civil manner, but only provoked the anger of the soldiers. A quarrel ensued, which ended in the soldiers being disarmed by the peasantry. The victors, more distressed by success than they could have been by defeat, saw that they would have no safety but in a continued resistance; and accordingly they proceeded next morning to disarm the larger party of soldiers who had been planted to superintend the parish. One of these was killed. They were now joined by the Laird of Barscob, a name abhorrent to the Muses, but dear to patriotism, along with about fifty horse and a few foot. The whole moved forward on the succeeding morning to Dumfries, where they

surprised Sir James Turner in his lodgings, and disarmed the few soldiers who attended him. They next drank the King's health at the cross, in order to show that they were not in arms against the royal authority, but only against the measures of the prelates. The Privy Council was next day informed of what had taken place, and immediately sent off a despatch to London, describing it as a most portentous rebellion. General Dalzell was at the same time commanded to draw together the forces at Glasgow, and march to any point where he might learn that the insurgents were in greatest strength. They moved northwards through Dumfriesshire and Ayrshire, and entered Lanarkshire at Douglas, where it is said their numbers amounted to three thousand. They had now been joined by a few small country gentlemen and some ministers, but by no men of considerable rank. They were commanded by Colonel Wallace, a gentleman who had served on the popular side in the civil wars. At Lanark, which they reached on the 26th, they formally renewed the Covenants; but, on being informed that General Dalzell was hovering in the neighbourhood, their numbers suddenly became diminished. The remainder moved on towards Edinburgh, where they expected a great accession of friends. They had designed to rest for the night at Bathgate, but, finding no accommodation, were obliged to march onwards to Collington, within three miles of the capital. During this night-march they lost a full half of their numbers; the remainder, according to their historian, Wodrow, "looked more like dying men than soldiers going to a battle. It would,

have almost made their very enemies relent, to have seen so many weary, faint, half-drowned, half-starved men, betwixt enemies behind and enemies before." The young Duke of Hamilton, who in this dreary time maintained a sincere and earnest spirit of patriotism, here sent a friend to entreat that they would lay down their arms, and trust to the King's mercy ; but Colonel Wallace declined doing so, until he should have obtained some definite promise from the Privy Council. For this purpose he sent a letter to General Dalryell, who was now a few miles behind ; but no notice was taken of it. All hopes and counsels were now at an end ; they had got into a country where they had few friends and many enemies, and from which it was impossible to retreat without encountering great perils. Wallace retired a few miles along the skirts of the Pentland Hills, and drew up about nine hundred dispirited men at a place called Rullion Green. Towards the evening, as they were waiting for some answer to the letter sent by Wallace, they were overjoyed with the sight of a large body of horse, which appeared on the top of an adjoining hill, and which they believed to be a reinforcement from the west. But they were soon undeceived. It was in reality the legions of Dalryell, who had marched across this Alpine region in order to surprise them. A deep hollow between the two hostile parties prevented an immediate collision. Dalryell sent out a party to take a circuit along the side of the hill, and attack the left wing of the insurgents. The attack was met with spirit by an equal detachment of horse under Captain Arnot, and

the royalist party was beat back with some loss. There was little display of military science in this encounter ; for on neither side was there much experience in warfare : the insurgents were absolutely without the least semblance of discipline. General Dalyell now sent out his left wing to attack the right of the insurgents ; but it was twice repulsed in the same manner. His force, however, was getting more numerous, as the companies successively came up ; and in a general charge he completely routed the non-conformist troops. Night fortunately protected the fugitives ; otherwise it is probable that the greater part of them would have been taken or slain. Only about fifty were killed, and as many taken prisoners. Among the former were two clergymen, named Crookshanks and M'Cormick, who had come from Ireland, and very much encouraged the country-people in this enterprise. Wallace escaped abroad, and never more saw his native country. A great number of the fugitives were cut down, or seized by the country people in the neighbouring parishes ; a fact which proves that the spirit which animated the undertaking was by no means universal in Scotland.

The prisoners were led in triumph to Edinburgh, to be transferred from the mercy of the sword to the mercy of the law. An aged presbyterian clergyman, living in the suburbs, opened his window to look upon the melancholy spectacle, and, struck by the brutality which he saw exercised by the soldiers upon so many brethren in faith, immediately took ill, and died of grief. Some of the episcopal clergy were anxious

that the prisoners should be leniently dealt with, so as to give the country a favourable impression of the government and the church ; but Archbishop Sharpe, who presided in the council, entertained a slavish notion that the court would not be satisfied without a considerable number of victims. He therefore pressed on the trial of eleven of the prisoners, all of whom were executed upon one gibbet, little more than a week after they had been taken in arms. Eight days afterwards, other four were executed, and, a few days later, six were added to the number. Among the latter was a young devout clergyman named Hugh M'Kail, who had only been taken on suspicion in the neighbourhood of the insurgent host. This person was first put to the torture of the *Boot*, in order to extort a confession. The leg was put into a square wooden box, with moveable plates within ; between the plates and the box, wedges were driven by a mallet, so as to produce the most exquisite pain. He solemnly declared that he could tell no more than what he had already divulged, even though every joint in his body were in as great torture as " that poor limb." But the Privy Council, who presided over these scenes, still called for " the other touch," till at length the marrow was expressed from the bone, and the whole limb was reduced to a jelly. He remarked himself, with much truth, that his sufferings would do more injury to the episcopal church than if he had preached against it for twenty years. When brought to the scaffold, he sat upon the ladder for some time, and with the utmost composure addressed himself to the

people. He said that every step in the ladder was a degree nearer to heaven. At the last, when about to be turned off, he exclaimed in an impassioned strain of eloquence, which suffused every eye but his own with tears, "Farewell, father and mother, friends and relations! farewell the world and all delights! farewell sun, moon, and stars! Welcome, God and father! welcome sweet Jesus, the mediator of the new covenant! welcome blessed spirit of grace and all consolation! welcome glory, welcome eternal life, welcome death!" Oldmixon, the English historian, has said, with apparent justice, that this surpasses all the dying addresses of the martyrs of antiquity.

A commission was also despatched to the provinces, to try such persons as had been concerned in the insurrection, but had not appeared at Pentland. Four were executed at Glasgow, seven at Air, and two at Irvine. Public sentiment here revolted from the bloody proceedings of the government, insomuch that the very executioners refused to do their duty. The seven men at Air were hanged by a companion, who was induced to perform the office in consequence of a promise of his own life. At Irvine the case was still more striking. The executioner there was a poor highlander of the name of Sutherland, who had come from the most northerly and least civilized portion of Scotland, but was sufficiently acquainted with religion to know that these men suffered only for its sake. When commanded to do his duty, he positively refused; all modes of persuasion were tried, but he answered clergy, judges, and nobles, with scriptural

quotations which confounded them; and, when threats were attempted, he was found as ready to become a martyr as the most enthusiastic of the late insurgents. He was eventually desired to go on his way and trouble them no more. The severities of the government were concluded some months after by an act of forfeiture against fifty persons, fifteen of whom were clergymen.

In all these cruelties, the new system of church-government was so completely identified with the persecuting party, that the antipathy to it only increased. Men could not see the primate of a church presiding at a scene of torture, placing his name at the head of every obnoxious edict, and exerting himself personally to bring speedy vengeance upon his opponents, without placing the whole mischief to the account of that church, and looking upon it as in some measure the reverse of what it professed to be—an establishment for the suppression instead of the support of religion. The King was now so far sunk in his wretched indulgences, as to pay but little attention to the interests of his country; but yet the flagrant oppressions exercised in Scotland under the name of religion did occasionally startle him, and he has the credit of having frequently proposed lenient measures, which, however, he too often permitted to be baulked by his ministers, and, it is painful to add, by the Scottish clergy themselves. A division which took place in the Privy Council in 1667, and the ascendancy of a more moderate party under the Earls of Tweeddale and Kincardine, procured a short breath-

ing-time for the Presbyterians; and the government made one or two highly honourable attempts at an accommodation. Bonds were then the grand engines of government, (a fashion set by the covenant,) and it was proposed that every man might be spared further persecution, if he would only sign what was called "a bond of peace." An Act of Indulgence was at the same time offered to the clergy, proposing that they might be restored to such parish churches as were vacant, if they would take collation from the bishop of the diocese, or even that they might still be provided for out of a certain fund, without taking such collation, if they would simply give assurance that they would live in a peaceable manner. But, while the church thus virtually abandoned its power, and the government supposed that all pretence for conventicles was taken away, the greater part of the ejected clergy, regarding every thing with suspicion which came from that quarter, utterly refused to accept of the proffered bounty upon such conditions. Their only objection was, that the Indulgence implied their acknowledgment of the King's supremacy in the church, which was altogether contrary to the fundamental doctrine of Presbytery, that they owed obedience to Christ alone. Only about forty, therefore, availed themselves of the Indulgence. The remainder held out in open defiance of the government, and declaimed as loudly against their indulged brethren as against the nominees of the bishops. The former they styled Erastians, on account of their submission to a civil power in ecclesiastical matters. A somewhat similar fate befel the

ond of Peace. It was generally refused, on the score that those who took it must be held as renouncing all power to interfere with the concerns of the state. And so, it will be observed, mild measures were found of as little avail as the former severity. The minds of men had been, in reality, rendered so delicately irritable, by the late events, that, when the period of grace arrived, it was only looked upon as a new and more insidious plan of persecution.

About the year 1670 the people began to hold conventicles in the fields, to which some of them came armed. The government of course considered these meetings the less justifiable, as it had already given up every point in the state religion except the mere supremacy of the King ; and accordingly very severe fines were imposed upon all who could be found guilty of attending them. There was no difference in the *form* of worship practised at these and at more legal assemblies ; but the very clandestine nature of the former seemed to give them a relish, and it may easily be conceived that, under the present circumstances of the country, the declamations of a clergy perfectly unfettered by respect for the state, would be more attractive than the more guarded and less exciting harangues of the licensed ministers. The memoirs of the Presbyterians themselves speak in high terms of the spiritual efficacy of the field sermons, where, in their own phrase, there was often much of the “divine presence.” Every attempt which was made during a succession of years to repress the system, only seemed to give it greater strength ; buildings were eventually

erected for the purpose of hearing the ministrations of persecuted clergymen ; and men at last began to defend themselves by force of arms, when the soldiery endeavoured to disperse them.

There was at this period no such interchange of intelligence between England and Scotland as has since been brought about by the establishment of newspapers ; but still the progress of free opinion in the former country generally had some effect in the north. In the year 1673 the English House of Commons endeavoured to put down the infamous ministry styled the *Cabal*, which had undertaken to destroy the national liberties, and pave the way for a declaration of popery on the part of the King, who had now been secretly brought over to that faith. The Duke of Lauderdale, who was one of this junto, having been voted "a grievance" at Westminster, came down to open the Scottish parliament as the royal commissioner ; but, when he asked for subsidies, the Duke of Hamilton and other patriotic noblemen met him with an unexpected resistance, and he was obliged to dissolve the assembly. The Duke of Hamilton also made several attempts, personally, to acquaint King Charles with the state of the public mind in Scotland, and to recommend a change of measures ; but, though he invariably made an impression upon the mind of the monarch, it was soon effaced by the influence of Lauderdale, to whom, for many years, his Majesty had submitted implicitly through the mere force of habit. The efforts of the Duke of Hamilton were the more generous, that they were made at the hazard of a

large of *leasing-making*, or libel against the government, which, by the law of Scotland, was a capital offence, and for many ages rendered all amelioration of the state system very difficult.

In July 1668, a preacher named Mitchell, of inferior attainments, but great enthusiasm, had attempted to assassinate Archbishop Sharpe, who was justly regarded as the prime instrument of this flagitious government. The shot missed the Archbishop, but mortally wounded the Bishop of Orkney. Some years after, the man was apprehended, and, on promise of his life, confessed his guilt. He was kept in prison for some years longer, and at length in 1678, upon some pretence that he had abandoned the advantage of his former confession, he was condemned on the evidence of the Archbishop, and executed. The crime was not so odious among his party as to extinguish their sympathy, or blind them to a sense of his judicial wrongs; accordingly, this wretched man was looked upon by them as a kind of martyr. At the same period the prosecution for field meetings became more than ever severe. A calculation has been made that, previously to 1678, seventeen thousand persons had suffered fining and imprisonment on this account. The government resolved to try the expedient of pressing the subscription of a bond renouncing conventicles; and, to support them in their efforts, an army of ten thousand men was collected at Stirling, of whom the greater part were Highlanders. At the end of January this cavalier host was let loose upon the western counties, with instructions to enforce fines

from all who would not take the bond. The resistance was passive, but universal. Only twenty out of two or three thousand householders in Lanarkshire could be prevailed upon to abandon a mode of worship which possessed so many charms. They rather submitted to see themselves spoiled of a great share of their worldly goods, than do that which they believed would peril their eternal welfare. Even the nobles, and other conspicuous persons, who lay most open to state persecution, generally refused the bond. The Scottish council was deeply mortified at the constancy of the people, for they had expected a rebellion, which would have justified them in far severer measures. Lauderdale, it is said, bared his arms above the elbow, at the Council Board, and swore by the most sacred name of the Deity, that he would make them enter into these bonds. After a month, however, finding the attempt ineffectual, he was obliged to order the army away. The Highland Host, as it was called, left a deep impression upon the memory of those who experienced its oppressions. It is not alleged that the mountaineers shed much blood, but they freely helped themselves to whatever moveable articles they took a fancy for. As they returned to the north, the whole country seemed to be removing its household furniture from one district to another. Some of the cavalier nobles of Angus, who held command in the army, were also said to have profited much by the enterprise. Ayrshire alone suffered losses to the amount of nearly twelve thousand pounds sterling, which, in those days, was a very large sum.

A deep spirit of resentment against the council, and specially the prelatie part of it, was the natural result of all these occurrences. The worst passions of human nature mingled themselves with the purest and noblest aspirations; and men appealed, in language of bitterness, from the iniquity of their earthly rulers, to the justice of God. The wisest and best natures were perverted by excess of feeling, and as a precious chrystal, dashed into pieces, forms the most dangerous footing, so did the spirit of genuine piety, in this instance, broken and harassed by persecution, become invested with a power of annoyance which never belongs to it in its proper state. On the 3rd of May (1679), while the public mind was in this lamentable condition, a small party of five gentlemen went out with the deliberate intention of assassinating the sheriff at a chase. Disappointed in that object, they had not dispersed when a greater fell in their way. As they were riding over Magus Moor, near St. Andrew's, Archbishop Sharpe happened to pass on his way from Edinburgh to that city. The opportunity appeared to their minds as a dispensation of providence. One of them rode up, and, cutting the traces of the coach with his sword, caused it to stop. The next then came up, crying, "Judas, be taken." They commanded him to come out of the coach, apparently that his daughter, who was with him, might not suffer from their shot. The Archbishop tremblingly obeyed; he flung himself upon his knees, offered them mercy, forgiveness, every thing, so that they would spare his life. The leader sternly reminded him of the deadly

injuries he had inflicted upon the church and its martyrs, and particularly of his late treachery to the assassin Mitchell. A volley of shot was poured upon his suppliant figure, but from the agitation they were in hardly took any effect upon him. They concluded that he bore a charm from the devil for protecting himself from lead, and accordingly tried the effect of "cold steel." The unhappy churchman was hewed down with their swords, crying for mercy with his latest breath. They then left his daughter lamenting over his body, which was afterwards found to bear such marks of their barbarity as could scarcely be credited. They carried with them some papers belonging to the Archbishop, but which were found to be of no consequence. After spending the afternoon together, inspecting those papers, they dispersed.

CHAPTER VII.

PERSECUTION CONTINUED.—THE REVOLUTION.

THE assassination of Sharpe produced a great alarm among the remaining members of the government, each of whom knew how much he had done to provoke the same fate. In another respect it was perhaps a matter of rejoicing to these men, as it afforded them an excuse for exercising additional severities upon the Presbyterians. This party never by any formal act expressed their approval of the deed; indeed, many of them must have felt that it was a precipitate and ominous transaction. Neither, however, did they ever express themselves as offended by the violence of their brethren: and even half a century after the event, their historians are more anxious to show that the Archbishop deserved his fate, than to apologise for the barbarity of his murderers. This is mentioned with no intention of depreciating the non-conformists, but rather to show how much must have been done to injure them, before their better feelings could have been so far blinded. The violence of those who resist tyranny is generally held up by the tyrants as a disgrace to those whom they oppress;

but in reality it is a strong, though indirect, censure upon themselves.

The blame of the murder has been the more plausibly thrown upon the whole party, that it was immediately followed by an insurrection: On the 29th of May, which was the King's birth-day, a party of about eighty deliberately marched into the town of Rutherglen, three miles from Glasgow, where they publicly burnt all the acts of parliament against Presbytery. They afterwards extinguished the bonfires, in order to mark their disapprobation of all holidays of human institution, and concluded by fixing upon the cross a declaration of their sentiments respecting the late proceedings of the government. Having done this, they retired to a mountainous part of the country between Lanarkshire and Ayrshire, where there was to be a grand conventicle on the ensuing Sunday. The government looked upon this proceeding as an act of rebellion, and dispatched a party of troops after the offenders; consisting of three troops of newly levied dragoons, under the command of Captain Graham of Claverhouse (afterwards Viscount Dundee), who had recently entered the King's service in Scotland. On Sunday, Graham came up with the insurgents, at a place near Loudoun hill, where they had assembled at devotion. They amounted to about forty horse, and two hundred foot, and were under the command of a gentleman named Hamilton, but without the least discipline or acquaintance with military affairs. Graham fired a volley, which they eluded in a great measure by falling upon their faces. He then tried to charge

them through a morass, behind which they were placed, but in doing so threw his men into confusion, and exposed himself to the assault of the enemy. They took instant advantage of his distress ; attacked the dragoons sword in hand, and soon compelled them to retire. Graham had his horse shot under him, and about twenty of his men were slain, while only one of the insurgents had fallen. A minister and some country people whom he had brought along with him as prisoners, were rescued by the victors.

The broken dragoons retreated to Glasgow, which was then a depot of troops for the superintendence of the west country, and now contained about eight hundred men. The insurgents, flushed with their success, and thinking it safer to go on than to draw back, marched forward next morning to that city, with considerably increased forces. The troops barricaded the streets, so that the country people could make little impression upon them, while they were greatly exposed in their turn. During the brief attack upon the barricades, their commander, Hamilton, is said to have ensconced himself in a house at some distance. Eight were slain in this needless encounter ; the rest retreated in rather low spirits to Hamilton, where they formed a kind of camp.

Their numbers were here augmented in a short time to about five thousand, chiefly peasants and farmers of Lanarkshire, Ayrshire, and Galloway, but comprising also a few gentlemen of property, though none of any note. Hamilton continued to exercise a nominal command, though rather from his having been the

leading man at the commencement, than from any idea of his fitness for the situation. All of them had arms, and many of them horses; but there was neither discipline, nor any attempt to impose it. The whole insurrection proceeded upon mere impulse. The unfortunate people could never reasonably hope that a formal appearance in arms against the government was to be productive of any good, so long as the king possessed the whole power of England, besides that of a strong party in Scotland. They acted, it would appear, simply from the pressure of immediate circumstances, glad to protect themselves for a while against an oppression they could no longer endure, even at the risk of utter destruction.

The Privy Council collected all its disposable forces at Edinburgh, and requested instructions from the court. It was speedily determined that the Duke of Monmouth should be sent down to take command of the army. This was the eldest natural son of the king; a youth of gentle character, anxious for popularity, and intimately connected with the English non-conformists, whom he expected to favour him in his views upon the succession. The Duke arrived at Edinburgh on the 19th of June, and slowly led forward the army to meet the insurgents. He marched very slowly, in order, as was supposed, to afford them an opportunity of dispersing; but they showed no disposition to avail themselves of his kindness. They had spent the three weeks during which they had existed as an army, not in training themselves to arms, or arranging themselves into proper divisions, but in dis-

puting about the spiritual objects for which they were in arms. One great cause of division was the Indulgence, which some were for condemning, and others for overlooking; they were also greatly divided as to the propriety of acknowledging their allegiance to the king. It might have been expected that a sense of common danger, and the uncertainty of being able eventually to assert any of their principles whatsoever, would have made these inconsiderable; but to explain this seeming anomaly, it needs only to be recollected that the sole inspiring motive of the insurrection was religion—a motive which generally disregards ordinary calculations. If these men had already refused to live at peace upon the condition of acknowledging the king's superiority in matters spiritual, they might well peril the temporal safety of their cause upon questions like those just stated.

On Sunday, the 22nd of June, Monmouth had advanced to Bothwell, a village about a mile distant from the insurgent camp. The river Clyde ran between the two armies, and was only to be crossed by Bothwell Bridge, a long narrow pass highly capable of defence. The non-conformists, who lay upon the ground beyond the bridge, were still, even at this late moment, holding high disputes, and there was even a proposal for remodelling the army, and appointing new officers. The moderate party sent two gentlemen in disguise—Mr. David Hume and the Laird of Kaitloch—to present a supplication to the Duke, in which it was proposed to disperse, on the condition that their grievances should be redressed. But Monmouth was

unable, from his instructions, to treat with them unless they should have first laid down their arms. He charged the two deputies with a message to that effect, threatening, if they did not throw themselves upon his mercy within half an hour, that he should advance with his army. When these gentlemen returned, they found the army on the point of falling to pieces through dissension. In truth, many must have now been only seeking for occasion to withdraw themselves from an adventure which they saw to be ruinous. The most zealous and clamorous were the first to retire. The rest remained, unable either to take advantage of the Duke's proposal, or to prepare for giving him battle. At the time he had specified, he advanced his troops to the brink of the river, and sent a large party to force the passage of the bridge. That point was stoutly defended, for nearly an hour, by some men from Galloway and Stirlingshire, under Hackstoun of Rathillet. At length, when their ammunition ran short, they sent back to the main body for a supply, which was denied. They were of course obliged to retire, and leave a free passage to the royal troops. Even after a considerable number of dragoons had come over, a brave man, Weir of Greenridge, was willing to have attacked them with a party of horse; but as he was advancing to do so, he was checked by Hamilton, who asked if he designed to murder his men. Weir answered that he hoped to be able to make an impression upon the dragoons, seeing that they had not as yet formed; but the poor-spirited commander then addressed himself to the

men, and, by representing the difficulties and dangers of such an attempt, persuaded them to stay. The chief object of this personage appears to have been to prevail upon his men to fly. He now set the example himself, and it was followed by the horse in a body. The foot, then left quite defenceless, could not stand an instant against the charge of the enemy. Excepting twelve hundred, who laid down their arms, the whole body took to flight, without having made the least effort at resistance. About three hundred were cut down in the pursuit.

The prisoners were brought in a body to Edinburgh, and confined, like sheep in a fold, within the gloomy precincts of the Greyfriars' Church-yard, where, for nearly five months, they had no seat or couch but the bare ground, and no covering but the sky. Two clergymen, Kid and King, were executed. Of the rest all were set at liberty who would own the insurrection to have been *rebellion*, and the slaughter of the archbishop *murder*, and promise never more to take up arms against the government. Those who refused were sent to the plantations; a mode of disposing prisoners which had been introduced by Cromwell. Other severities were practised against those who were suspected of having countenanced the insurgents, or who had refused to join the royal army; but if it be true—what rests upon more than one authority*—that the army at Bothwell had prepared

* Crichton's Memoirs.—Guild's *Bellum Bothuellianum*.

he fact, however, is not supported by any state document of the period.

a gibbet to execute their enemies in the event of being victorious, the cruelty of the government receives some extenuation.

Under all the severities of this bloody and tyrannical reign, the spirit of English liberty was still kept alive. The King had been long married without any children. His brother, the Duke of York, was therefore heir presumptive. But this prince, besides being a man of severe and gloomy nature, had unfitted himself for governing a Protestant people by becoming a convert to the Catholic faith. An attempt was made in the House of Commons to pass an act for excluding him from the succession. It was read a second time by a majority of 207 against 128; and the King only evaded the question by proroguing the Parliament. The Duke, seeing himself so unpopular in England, resolved to make friends, if possible, in Scotland, so that, in the event of any resistance to his succession in the former country, he might bring up an army of the less scrupulous Scotch to his assistance. He therefore paid a visit to Edinburgh in November 1679, and revived the long dormant court of Holyrood House. As the persecution had been in a great measure a local affair, it operated little against his present views. The gentry, except in the north-west district, were chiefly cavaliers; in the Highlands altogether so. Among a people remote from a court, the mere presence of royalty—its slightest acts of condescension—are sure to communicate a favourable impression, although, perhaps, unaccompanied by the least merit or virtue in the royal person. The stately

graces of the Duke of York, even in a city where men were every week suffering death and torture for conscience-sake, procured him a degree of affection which was not extinguished by his own subsequent exile, but shone out, many years after, upon his proscribed descendants.

The Duke returned at the end of February 1680 to London. The distresses of the Presbyterians now caused the rise of a new and more fanatical sect, who renounced their allegiance, and issued anathemas not only against their persecutors, but against the great mass of their brethren, who had submitted to the government. A minister named Cargill was the leader of this party, and on an attempt being made to sieze him, a paper was found, in which he had embodied its sentiments. He and his associate Cameron, with about twenty armed men, appeared at Sanquhar on the 22nd of June, and there affixed upon the market-cross a declaration, in which they disavowed all obedience to the King, and protested against the succession of the Duke of York. Cameron was soon after killed, with some of his friends, at Airsmoss, and Hackstoun of Rathillet was seized and executed. Cargill, so far from being deterred, held a large conventicle at Torwood, where he formally delivered over the King, his brother, and ministers, to Satan; after the usual forms of excommunication. He was soon after taken prisoner and hanged. The whole proceedings of this sect were seriously injurious to the great body of presbyterians; as the government, wilfully overlooking all remonstrances to the contrary,

held all that was done as criminating the whole body, and took occasion from that to exercise greater severities.

In October 1680, the Duke of York was again obliged, by the patriotic party in England, to take up his residence at Holyrood House. A bill for excluding him from the throne was now actually passed by the House of Commons, but was lost in the House of Lords by 33 against 30. On Christmas day, the spirit of the Scottish people against a Catholic successor was manifested by the students of the Edinburgh University, who, notwithstanding every effort to prevent them, publicly burnt the pope in effigy. A Parliament, the first for nine years, sat down in July 1681, the Duke acting as commissioner. A test oath was here framed, to be taken by all persons in public trusts as an assurance of their loyalty; but it turned out to be such a jumble of contradictory obligations, that many persons, including eighty of the established clergy, refused to take it. The Earl of Argyle, son to the late Marquis, and a faithful friend to the Protestant religion, would only receive it with an explanation, which was held to be an act of treason, and he was accordingly tried and condemned to death. The real object of this prosecution was to destroy a powerful highland chief, who might be disposed to use his influence against the succession of the Duke of York. His lordship contrived to escape to Holland.

In the latter part of this year, the party left by Cargill and Cameron arranged themselves into a secret society, and on the 12th of January 1682, published at

Lanark a declaration of adherence to the transactions at Sanquhar, which they affected to consider as the work of a convention of estates. This, of course, only provoked new severities.

In March 1682, the Duke of York returned to England, in order to hold a conference with the King. In May, coming back for his family, his vessel was wrecked on a sand-bank near Yarmouth, when a hundred and fifty persons perished, including some of the first quality. After spending about a week in Edinburgh he returned to England. He is said to have used the atrocious expression, that it would never be well with Scotland till the country south of the Forth was reduced to the condition of a hunting-field.

The ancient presbyterian spirit was now reduced so low, or so many of the clergy of that kind were destroyed and imprisoned, that there was not a single individual who preached in defiance of the King's supremacy. The united societies, as the more fanatical termed themselves, were obliged to send a youth named Renwick to Groningen, in Belgium, in order to study divinity and receive ordination, as they could not in any other way obtain a preacher. A general disposition to emigration began to arise; and some gentlemen proposed to sell their property, and become settlers in the new colony of Carolina. While engaged at London in making the proper arrangements, they came in contact with the patriots of the House of Commons, who, defeated on the Exclusion Bill, were concerting measures for bringing about a change of government. Common desperation made them friends;

and a correspondence was opened with the Earl of Argyle in Holland, for an invasion from that quarter, in collusion with an insurrection in England. Some subordinate members of the conspiracy plotted the assassination of the King ; and, being discovered, the whole affair was brought to light. Lord Russell and Algernon Sidney were executed. Baillie of Jerviswood was transmitted to Scotland, and there, under the most iniquitous circumstances, subjected to the same fate. It was now hardly possible, by any course of conduct, to gain assurance of not being prosecuted. Masters were held liable for servants ; landlords for their tenants ; fathers for their wives and children ; and to have the least intercourse with a proscribed person was the same as to be actually guilty. The soldiery were now permitted by an Act of Parliament to execute the laws without trial. If any one, therefore, refused to answer certain questions, or gave rise to suspicion by running away, he was shot. Numbers thus perished in the fields and on the highways. In short, the reign of Charles II. terminated February 6, 1685, amidst a scene of oppression, bloodshed, and spoil, such as was never before witnessed in the country, even in the most barbarous times.

The Duke of York now succeeded to the throne, under the title of James II. This prince was as much disposed as the last to render himself an arbitrary ruler, or despot ; and so much had the national spirit been depressed by the severities of the late reign, that it is probable he might have succeeded in that object, if he had only been a little more prudent about his religion.

The Duke of Monmouth, who had pretended to the crown as a legitimate son of Charles II. now resided in exile at Brussels. He had ingratiated himself with the dissenters in England, and hoped by their assistance to dethrone the new monarch. He formed a design, in concert with the Earl of Argyle, for an invasion of the island. The latter nobleman set sail in May, and, after touching at the Orkneys, descended upon the west of Scotland, where he was joined by two thousand five hundred of his clan. Unfortunately, a boat's crew whom he sent on shore at Orkney were taken prisoners, and gave information of his design. The bishop of that diocese immediately carried the intelligence to Edinburgh. The militia of the kingdom was called out. The gentlemen of Argyle's clan were seized and brought to the capital. The Earl, finding all his prospects blighted, made a hesitating and timid advance towards Glasgow, where he hoped to be joined by the persecuted people of the west. The government forces advancing on every hand to meet him, his troops melted away from him, and, as he had been an active agent in all the cruelties of the late reign, he was not a commander to be trusted by the covenanters. After pursuing a solitary flight for a little way in disguise, he was taken prisoner at Inchinnan in Renfrewshire, and transported to Edinburgh, where he was immediately executed upon his former sentence.

The expedition which Monmouth conducted to the west of England was equally unfortunate, and that nobleman being seized under similar circumstances,

was also executed. The King took the opportunity afforded by these suppressed insurrections to exercise still more dreadful cruelties than any which had been formerly suffered. Under the management of a judge named Jeffreys, hundreds of people in the district where Monmouth had found support, were executed almost without the ceremony of a trial. The country of Argyle was ravaged in a somewhat different style, but with equal cruelty, and the general persecution became still more fierce. The King showed his own feeling respecting these transactions by speaking of the bloody circuit made by his English judge as "Jeffreys' campaign." He would appear to have now abandoned all hope of ruling over his people, except by the aid of mere terror.

From the commencement of his reign he had taken no pains to conceal his religion. Encouraged by these suppressed rebellions, he now thought that he might safely attempt to convert the nation back to the Roman Catholic faith.

As the law stood, no papist could hold any office in the state. They were excluded, in both kingdoms, by a test oath, abjuring the errors of popery. Early in 1686, James endeavoured to get an act passed in both parliaments for dispensing with this oath, so that he might be enabled to introduce men of his own religion into all places of trust, which he judged to be the best way of proselytising the people at large. But, to his great surprise, the same parliaments which had already declared his temporal power to be nearly absolute, refused to yield to him on the subject of religion.

Neither entreaties nor threats could prevail upon them to pass the necessary acts. In Scotland, the Duke of Queensberry, Sir George Mackenzie, and other statesmen, who had hitherto been the readiest to yield him obedience in all his most odious measures, submitted rather to be disgraced than to surrender up the religion along with the liberties of the nation.

This is a point in our national history well worthy of being considered. It will be observed that the arbitrary character of the present and the late government had been both created and submitted to, in consequence of the disasters to which the prosecution of liberty during the civil wars had reduced the nation. The monarchs, on the one hand, thought that no firm government was to be obtained, unless by fixing those arbitrary principles in which their father, Charles I., had been defeated. The people, terrified at the idea of another military or republican tyranny, had yielded to those demands on the part of the sovereign, and were now ruled by a despot almost as absolute as the czar of Russia. But though the civil liberties of the nation were thus surrendered, there was still a great point reserved. Religion, which had been the prime motive of the civil wars, was a principle which even the most abject would not submit to see violated. A struggle was therefore commenced on this point, and when the people became victorious, they regained their civil liberty also.

When James found that the parliaments would not yield to him, he dissolved them, and, pretending that he had only asked their consent out of courtesy, as-

sumed to himself the right of dispensing with the test. This was establishing a power in the Crown to subvert any act of parliament, and consequently no law could henceforth stand against the royal pleasure. If it had been assumed upon a temporal point, it is not probable that any resistance would have been made; for the right of the King to do as he pleased, and the illegality of all opposition to his will on the part of the people, were principles now very generally considered as part of the divine law itself. But it fortunately concerned the existence of the church of England, and the religious prepossessions of the great majority of the people. There was therefore an almost universal spirit of resistance.

In order to give his measures an appearance of fairness, James granted a toleration to all kinds of dissenters from the established church, including, of course, the persecuted people of the west of Scotland. The English dissenters took advantage of this indulgence, and suddenly became very loyal to the King. But while it deeply offended the members of the church itself, it was regarded by the covenanters with scorn, as a gift which never could have been conferred upon them, unless for the purpose of including their greatest enemies, the catholics. The support which James acquired by this act was very trifling, compared with what he lost. Even the episcopal clergy of Scotland, who had been the most zealous advocates of passive obedience and non-resistance, were loud in their indignation.

In the height of his power James had deprived the

boroughs of both kingdoms of their charters, and granted new ones, in which he was left the power of nominating the magistracies. He took advantage of this liberty to put catholics into every kind of burghal office. He also attempted to get men of the same religion introduced into the chief seats in the universities.

What rendered these events the more odious to the nation was the revocation of the edict of Nantes by the king of France, in consequence of which the protestants of that kingdom were subjected to a cruel persecution at the hands of their catholic brethren. The people of Great Britain received about fifty thousand of these innocent persons under their protection; and as they were diffused over the whole country, they every where served as living proofs of catholic intolerance and cruelty. The British saw that if the King were not resisted in his endeavours to introduce popery, they would soon be groaning in hopeless subjection to a small dominant party, if not driven, like the French protestants, far from their homes and native seats of industry, to wander like beggars over the earth.

The King had commanded the clergy to read in their pulpits an edict of universal toleration. Several of the bishops, after ascertaining that the whole body almost to a man would support them, presented a petition to the King, in which they respectfully excused themselves from obeying his command. For this they were thrown into the Tower, and brought to trial, but, to the great joy of the nation, acquitted. This hap-

pened in June, 1688, when the people had just received additional cause of despair, in the birth of a male heir to the crown, by whom, in all probability, the popish principles of his father would be perpetuated.

If this prince had not come into the world, the crown would have fallen, in the course of time, to the King's daughter Mary, who, for some years, had been married to the Prince of Orange. This lady being a protestant, and the King being now advanced in life, the people had hitherto cherished a prospect of seeing the protestant faith eventually triumphant under her sway. But now the protestant line was excluded, and with it all hope was at an end. To add to the general dissatisfaction, there was much cause to suspect that the child was a spurious one, brought forward for the purpose of keeping up a popish line of succession. The nation was therefore in every respect ripe for a general revolt.

The court of the Prince of Orange had long been a resort to the British malcontents. The Prince himself was strongly inclined, for reasons of general policy as well as of personal ambition, to attempt a revolution in England. Being invited by a great number of influential persons, of both sides in politics, including many of the clergy, he no longer hesitated to make preparations for an invasion. In October he set sail with an army of about sixteen thousand men, and on the 5th of November cast anchor in Torbay, in Devonshire, while the King's fleet lay windbound at Harwich. James had surrounded himself with a standing army, the first that was ever raised in Britain ; but, as

generally happens, it partook of the almost universal feeling of the people, and was not to be depended on. Even with the assistance of a less scrupulous force from Scotland, he could hardly venture to risk an engagement with the Prince, to whose standard a great number of the nobility had already resorted. He therefore retired before the advancing army to London, and was immediately deserted by all his principal counsellors, and even by his younger daughter, the Princess Anne. Feeling no support around him, he first despatched the Queen and her infant to France, and then prepared to follow. In the disguise of a servant, he escaped down the river to Feversham, but being there seized by the populace as a popish refugee, he was brought back to London. It was found, however, that the government could not be settled on a proper footing while he remained in the country; and he was therefore permitted once more to depart. He left the kingdom in the belief that the people could not do without him, and would call him back in triumph; but they had now begun to entertain less fear of anarchy than of despotism, and nothing, in reality, could have been more agreeable to them than his departure.

CHAPTER VIII.

FROM THE REVOLUTION TO THE UNION.

IN Scotland this deliverance from popery and arbitrary power was hailed with still more enthusiasm than in England. The covenanters of the west ran to arms, and, as there was no soldiery to repress them, they immediately began to take advantage of the turn of affairs to expel the obnoxious clergy from their churches. The populace of Edinburgh attacked the palace and chapel-royal, and having gained the post with some slaughter on both sides, stripped the latter building of all its popish furniture. The local government dissolved itself in terror, and the chancellor, (Earl of Perth,) who had turned catholic to please his sovereign, took flight to France, but was seized in the Firth of Forth, and thrown into prison. In short, the spirit of the people, which was in favour of a moderate monarchy, with a presbyterian church, became every where triumphant.

In January, 1689, about a hundred Scottish noblemen and gentlemen assembled at Whitehall, and, having previously ascertained the disposition of their countrymen, resolved to follow the example of Eng-

land, by offering the supreme management of their affairs to the Prince of Orange. A convention was consequently appointed by the Prince to meet at Edinburgh on the 14th of March. This assembly, which was elected by the people at large, excluding only the catholics, experienced at first some embarrassment from the adherents of King James. The Duke of Gordon still held the castle in that interest, and had it in his power, if he pleased, to bombard the parliament-house with his cannon. Graham of Claverhouse, now created Viscount of Dundee, was also in Edinburgh with a number of his dragoons, and every day attended the assembly. On the other hand, an immense number of the westland whigs, or Cameronians (as they were called from one of their ministers), had flocked to the city, where they were concealed in garrets and cellars. Dundee, when he saw that there was a majority of the convention hostile to his old master, concerted with the Earl of Mar and Marquis of Athole a plan for holding a counter-convention at Stirling, after the manner of the royalist parliament held at Oxford by Charles I. In the expectation that his friends would have been ready to accompany him, he brought out his troop of dragoons to the street; but finding their minds somewhat changed, he was obliged to take his departure by himself, as the parading of armed men so near the parliament-house would have subjected him to a charge of treason. He therefore rode out of the city with his squadron, and clambering up the castle rock, held a conference with the Duke of Gordon at a pos-

tern, where it was resolved upon between them that he should go to raise the Highland clans for King James, while his Grace should continue to hold out the castle.

The liberal members of the convention took advantage of this movement to summon the people to arms for their protection, and they were instantly surrounded by hundreds of armed Cameronians, who completely overawed the adherents of the late government. The convention then declared King James to have forfeited the crown, by his attempts to overturn the religion and liberties of his subjects. The sovereignty of Scotland was settled, like that of England, upon the next protestant heirs, the Prince and Princess of Orange, who were accordingly proclaimed at Edinburgh on the 11th of April.

King James had now returned from France to Ireland, which, being chiefly a catholic country, was strongly disposed in his favour. Having at once regained nearly the whole of this populous kingdom, he began to entertain very confident hopes of a complete restoration. Under promise of immediate assistance from Ireland, Dundee was encouraged in his design of raising an insurrection in the Highlands of Scotland, where the people were, from habits of feeling, strongly attached to the cause. King William had so much to contend against in Ireland, that he was only able to send down about eleven hundred of his Dutch infantry, with two hundred dragoons, to Scotland. These were under the command of Major-General Mackay, an officer of some experience, but unable to cope with the genius

of his opponent. Dundee was recommended to the Highlanders by so many besetting qualifications, that even those who had been treated with severity under the late government, readily entered his service. He was inspired with a desire of rivalling his great namesake, Montrose, and there were no hardships, no privations, which he would not endure in order to secure the attachment of his men.

A war of marching and countermarching was for some time kept up by Dundee and Mackay. At length the latter found himself in possession of so many troops that he resolved to penetrate the Highlands, and establish a fort at Inverlochy, now Fort William, for the purpose of keeping the country in check. On the 27th of July he left Dunkeld with four thousand five hundred soldiers, the greater part of them cavalry, and entered the pass of Killiecranky, which gives admission to the district of Athole. In the afternoon, after a march of twenty miles, he gained the open country beyond, where Dundee had drawn up about two thousand five hundred of the clans to receive him. Mackay arranged his men in one long line, without any reserve, and about an hour before sunset Dundee descended upon him from the hills. The impetuosity of the Highlanders drove every thing before them. After giving one fire with their muskets, they drew their swords, and rushed with a deafening shout against the thin line of their opponents. The whole of General Mackay's army, except a small portion which remained firm around himself, were swept down into the valley below, where many hundreds sunk

under the swords of the Highlanders, or were drowned in the river. A promiscuous multitude sought to escape by the pass, but either overthrew each other, or were cut down by the victors. General Mackay with great difficulty saved the small remaining part of his forces, by leading them, in the dusk of the evening, across the hills. He reached Stirling Castle on the second day after, with only two hundred out of more than four thousand men.

This defeat might have been very disastrous to the new government, if Dundee had remained in life to improve it. He had been killed, however, by a random shot, which penetrated his breast after the action was decided. But for that circumstance, the cavalier army must have been able to reduce nearly the whole of Scotland to King James, which would have prevented King William from going to Ireland. Some efforts were made by King James to maintain the war in Scotland. An Irish officer of the name of Cannan was sent over to assume the chief command; but he was unable to direct the energies of this singular people. After some trivial rencontres, the war expired, and the whole of Scotland fell peaceably under the dominion of the new sovereigns. Ireland, in like manner, was reduced, in consequence of the celebrated victory gained by King William over the native army at the Boyne.

It is understood that, if circumstances would have permitted, King William would have rather continued to maintain the episcopal church in Scotland than establish any other. Finding, however, that the bishops

remained faithful to King James, he was compelled to take the presbyterians under his protection. The convention, changed by the royal mandate into a parliament, proceeded in July to abolish prelacy in the church, and to establish the moderate and excellent system of church government which now exists. All the clergy formerly in possession of churches were permitted to retain them, if they felt disposed to accede to the new system, and take the oaths to government. The Solemn League and Covenant, though still supported by a party, was overlooked, as a thing applicable to a different state of things. The clergy were deprived of the power of inflicting a civil punishment by means of excommunication. General assemblies and other church courts were restored, with independent powers, in ecclesiastical matters, and, the act of supremacy being abolished, Christ was understood to reign as formerly over the church. The clergy, however, were so far sensible of the practical absurdity of this kind of government, that they tacitly admitted the king to be their patron and nursing father, and while the moderator of the assemblies convened and dissolved them in the name of Christ, the King's commissioner, or representative, was also allowed to do the same in the name of the sovereign. Upon the whole, the establishment of a church so suitable to the popular taste, so unassuming in its external deportment, and supported in such an economical way, by funds raised without disturbance out of the pockets of the land proprietors, was a most fortunate event.

for Scotland, and the cause, without doubt, of much of its prosperity and happiness.

Another national institution of great importance was also settled at this happy æra, namely, the system of parish schools. Although various attempts had been made at earlier periods to establish these founts of learning, it is undeniable that, in their present excellent form, they are the offspring of the Presbyterian church, and have altogether been created and kept in existence as a part of that species of church government. This, perhaps, took its rise from the views of the presbyterian church towards the nurture of children in conformity with its religious doctrines, for which purpose the schools have been always under the immediate control of the clergy. But when we see other churches, with far greater wealth, overlooking the education of the people, and thus losing the opportunity of raising up a class of adherents to their constitution, and at the same time of increasing the national intelligence, we are disposed to consider this selfishness of the Scottish church as the height of generosity and the perfection of wisdom. By the law established after the revolution, part of what was once church-property is set apart for endowing a school in each parish of the kingdom. In consideration of a few pounds thus bestowed, the schoolmaster obliges himself to teach the children of the poor gratuitously; the rest of his subsistence is derived from fees, which are paid by scholars of better rank. Thus, as the Scotch people are naturally of a con-

templative disposition, and fond of instructing their minds, even at the expense of a little personal comfort, the whole population, from the highest to the very lowest rank, has, for several generations, been rescued from the lamentable condition of ignorance, and is now distinguished among other nations for all the good results of knowledge, namely, sobriety, mutual respect, and the power of bettering their worldly circumstances. In some cases, the fixed salaries of the schoolmasters are so low as twenty pounds; in hardly any are they above thirty. Yet such is the respectability of every thing like a literary profession in Scotland, that, for this humble consideration, and a few shillings yearly besides from such pupils as can afford to pay, we obtain the services of a set of men little inferior to the clergy either in learning or personal dignity. It was the remark of an English philosopher of the last century that, in Scotland, every man had a mouthful of learning, but no man a full meal. Perhaps the remark was not intended as a compliment; but in reality, it is one of the highest that could have been paid to the country. Dr. Johnson, who is the author of the observation, meant to contrast the highly-educated men, who cluster in the English universities, with the great mass of the moderately educated persons in Scotland, among whom there are hardly any who devote themselves so exclusively to learning. Now, the real difference is this. The profound learning of the literary class in England is comparatively exclusive and inactive; the *few* become highly learned, but they do little for their fellows. They resemble, in fact,

dark lanterns, which, however brilliantly illuminated within, give forth no light around. The Scotch, on the other hand, learn only as much as they can put to some actual and immediate use. Hardly any man learns but in order to instruct; and, indeed, a great number of the men educated for the church are, during the whole of their career, as busy in *teaching* as they are in *learning*. There is no such thing known in the country as to learn only for the purpose of securing a particular mark of honour from some university, or to gain a particular salary which has been held out as a reward for a certain degree of learning. The Scotch learn for the sake of the practical use of learning in ordinary life, or from an aversion, inspired into them by the general sense of the country, for the condition of ignorance. The result has been, not a greater irksomeness under a lowly condition, as might perhaps be expected, but a greater power of enduring it; not a habit of insubordination to those placed by providence in superior situations, but a tranquil sense of the propriety of a gradation of ranks. Endowed with a good education, as with an inheritance, the Scotch migrate in immense numbers into other countries, where they seldom fail to establish themselves in offices superior to their native condition, on account of the comparative ignorance of individuals of their own rank in those countries. All this good may be traced to an act of parliament under William and Mary, laying aside, for popular education, a sum not amounting altogether to the half of what is drawn, every year, by a single prelate in less instructed countries.

If the new government had produced no other benefit than the establishment of the presbyterian church and the system of parochial schools, it would have been entitled to the lasting gratitude of the country. Unfortunately, while this reign is the æra of modern liberty, and was thus productive of beneficial national institutions, it is also blackened by one of the most atrocious deeds of cruelty, and one of the most severe acts of national persecution, that have ever been known in Scotland.

The Earl of Breadalbane had been entrusted with a large sum of money, to be distributed among the Highland chiefs, as the price of their obedience. As this nobleman was suspected by them of appropriating the most of this money to himself, they did not display such a disposition to remain at peace as was desired; and accordingly in August 1691, a proclamation was issued, threatening with the military execution of fire and sword, all who should not give in their submission before the ensuing 1st of January. In order to tame these lords by some severe example, the state officers were anxious that a few should hold out, so as to give them an opportunity of punishing them in the way proposed. But it was found that all had obeyed the proclamation in due time, except the chieftain of a small tribe of Macdonalds, inhabiting the wild valley of Glencoe, who, it appeared, was only prevented from being quite punctual by a mere accident. However, as Glencoe was obnoxious to the Earl of Breadalbane, and also to the Secretary of State, Sir John Dalrymple, all notice of the accident was suppressed, and an

order was obtained from the king for visiting him with military execution. With malignant coolness, Dalrymple wrote instructions for a party of soldiers, directing them to chuse the long stormy nights of winter for this service, so that any of the clan who should escape the swords of the military, might be sure to perish by exposure to the elements. "The winter," he said, "is the only season in which the Highlanders cannot elude us, or carry their wives, children, and cattle to the mountains. They cannot escape you; for what human constitution can endure to be long out of house? This is the proper season to maul them, in the long dark nights." "They must be all slaughtered," he afterwards added, "and the manner of execution must be sure, secret, and effectual."

This horrid duty could hardly have been performed by any ordinary soldiers. It was therefore committed to a militia composed of a clan generally hostile to the people of Glencoe. About four hundred of the Earl of Argyle's regiment, under the command of Captain Campbell of Glenlyon, entered the devoted valley about the end of January. For a fortnight they were entertained by the natives with Highland hospitality. Captain Campbell was often at the table of one of the chief's sons, who happened to be married to his own niece. On the evening before the appointed morning of execution, the two sons of Glencoe were kept up late in Glenlyon's quarters, playing at cards, and he and two other officers had accepted an invitation to dine next day with the chief. About four in the morning of the 13th of February the work of death

was commenced. The aged chief was shot as he was rising from bed. Some of his domestics were also killed. The soldiers tore off the rings from his wife's fingers with their teeth, and she died next day in a state of distraction. Every little hamlet throughout the glen was attacked at the same time, and the inmates butchered without mercy. By a timely warning the two sons of the chief made their escape, but thirty-eight other persons were slaughtered, besides numbers that died in the snow, while endeavouring to save themselves by flight. An additional party was expected to arrive in time to stop up every avenue of escape; but it was fortunately impeded by the storm, and thus a few were saved who must have otherwise perished. Next day every house in the valley was destroyed, and the whole of the cattle and other property of the Macdonalds carried off.

The massacre of Glencoe, as it was justly called, excited a feeling of warm indignation against the persons concerned in it, and even against the King himself, although it is difficult to believe that so mild a sovereign as William could be aware of the real nature of the order which his ministers had procured from him. Some years after, the transaction was subjected to a parliamentary inquiry, which acquitted the King, and threw the principal blame upon Secretary Dalrymple, whose talents were by this means lost to his country, as he never afterwards could appear in any public business, nor even for some years take his seat in parliament. It is certainly obvious that a monarch who had only lived three years in England,

could not be well aware of the feelings which animated the remote Highlanders against each other, or of the sanguinary character of some of his Scottish statesmen, to which united causes, at least in the first instance, the peculiar severity of the execution is to be ascribed.

The prevailing fault of King William's government, so far as Scotland was concerned, was a neglect of its affairs. He had but one grand object in life, both before and after the Revolution, namely, the depression of France and of the catholic interest in Europe. Thus, for some years, he had very little intercourse with Scotland, except what consisted in the periodical demand of supplies from its parliament, and the levying of troops amongst its population, both alike for the purpose of carrying on his continental wars. The offices of state he distributed equally amongst the vilest instruments of the late tyranny and the more liberal men of his own party; his chief confidence being bestowed upon a clergyman named Carstairs, who managed the most important measures, without being in the least responsible. Upon the whole, William was not a popular monarch in Scotland, although at first his rescuing the people from oppression had promised to make him so.

His Scottish reign was now darkened by an event which even yet can hardly be mentioned without awakening painful sensations. At this time there was a strong desire, throughout England, Holland, and other commercial countries, to participate in the East India trade, which was enjoyed exclusively by a com-

pany of London merchants. Taking advantage of this disposition, an ingenious Scotchman named William Paterson, who had already distinguished himself by projecting the Bank of England, suggested to the Scottish state-officers that they might establish something like a rival company in Scotland, to which the merchants of other countries might be admitted. As Scotland was quite independent on England, though governed by the same monarch, this scheme did not appear impracticable; and, as the King was anxious to appease the discontents of the north, he ratified the necessary Act of Parliament. The Scotch, having now got their religion settled to their minds, all at once directed the whole force of their genius to this commercial scheme, which they thought would render them almost instantaneously rich. Four hundred thousand pounds, being about half of all the actual money in the kingdom, was subscribed in a brief space of time; to which were added two hundred thousand subscribed by the merchants of Hamburg and Holland, and three hundred thousand by those of London. It was the design of Paterson to settle upon a part of the isthmus of Darien, which connects North and South America, and there concentrate the productions of the east and west Indies into one depôt, whence they might be dispersed over all other countries.

It is a sufficient proof of the excellence of this scheme, that the English nation and Parliament immediately took the alarm lest a great part of their trade might be diverted to Scotland. With all their virtues as a nation, the English have ever regarded

their commerce with an unworthy jealousy, as if a supremacy in that point were an absolute decree of Providence in their favour, and as if the whole earth besides were merely to be a source of profit to them in particular. The King was accordingly urged, through Parliament, to withdraw his countenance from the Scottish Trading Company ; and those merchants who had subscribed to it were so much persecuted, that they were obliged to withdraw their support. William was also induced to take measures for alienating the merchants of Holland and Hamburg. But, even under these discouraging circumstances, the Scots by themselves resolved to prosecute their scheme. In July 1698, five vessels sailed from Leith roads, having on board twelve hundred men, three hundred of whom were persons of birth. They landed in November at a place called Acta, midway between Portobello and Carthagera, and under the ninth degree of latitude. Having purchased ground from the Indians, they began to build a town called New Edinburgh, and a fort called St. Andrew ; and during the winter months every thing seemed likely to answer their expectations. Summer brought disease, and, on their provisions running low, they found that the colonists of America and the West Indies had been forbidden by royal proclamation to deal with them, even for the necessaries of life. In May and September 1699, ere intelligence could reach home, two other expeditions had sailed, containing eighteen hundred men, who were involved on their arrival in the same disasters. After disease had swept off many

hundreds, the remainder were attacked by the Spaniards, who pretended a right to the country; and to these haughty enemies, who were countenanced in their proceedings by the British sovereign, the unfortunate colony was obliged to surrender. Very few ever regained their own country, and the money vested in the undertaking was irrecoverably lost.

As almost every family in Scotland had lost either wealth or kindred by this disaster,* and as the calamity was chiefly owing to the unjust partiality of the King for a more powerful part of his dominions, it completely effaced from the minds of the Scotch all gratitude for the blessings of the Revolution. Henceforth William's government was the subject of more violent and more general discontent than even the tyranny of the Stuarts. The real distress which arose from such an immense loss of money was, in 1700, increased by an uncommonly severe famine, which arose from several bad seasons.

In September 1701, James VII. who had been ex-

* The present writer was surprised, in the year 1826, at the distance of four generations from the time of the Darien expedition, to find the peasantry at Torwoodlee in Roxburghshire in full recollection of a circumstance connected with it. According to the traditionary account, a son of the laird perished at Darien. On a night afterwards ascertained to be that of his death, all the bells in Torwoodlee House rang violently and simultaneously, without the appearance, as was said, of mortal agency. The superstition is, of course, a proof of the way in which the public mind was affected by the calamity.

pelled at the Revolution, died in France, leaving a son, who was immediately proclaimed by Louis XIV. as King James the Third of England and Eighth of Scotland. William did not long survive his unfortunate relative. He died (March 8, 1702), of a fever and ague, operating upon a weakly constitution. His consort having died some years before without children, he was succeeded by the next protestant heir, Anne, second daughter of the late King James. It must be mentioned that, in 1700, the English Parliament had settled the crown of that country upon the Princess Sophia of Hanover, as the next protestant heir after the Princess Anne. Sophia was descended from King James VI. through his daughter Elizabeth, and her son George was the reigning Elector of Hanover.

The present situation of Scotland, with respect to England, was in the highest degree alarming to that country. Incensed at the injuries received from King William, the Scotch were now very generally inclined to settle the sovereignty of their country upon a different person from the monarch of England. In the event of their choosing the son of James II., who was called the Pretender, the crown of England would be placed almost within his grasp, and the peace of that country materially endangered.

Perhaps there was still a considerable disinclination among the Scotch to adopt this personage for their sovereign. It was convenient, however, to hold him up as a bugbear to the English; and without doubt

there was a large and active party, styled Jacobites, who seemed likely to acquire the ascendancy, and then bring in the Pretender.

The ruling passion of the Scots at this period was to become a commercial nation like the English. A constant intercourse with that people for a century, had shown them the advantages of trade, and introduced them to habits or necessities of expenditure, which they could not support by other means. In some measure Scotland resembled a poor family residing in the immediate neighbourhood of a wealthy one, and obliged by certain circumstances to make an equally respectable appearance in the world. It was an absurdity to suppose that two nations could properly exist in such close contact, and yet the one be permitted to engross all the commerce of the world, without admitting the other to the least share. The Scotch therefore resolved, if the English would not impart some of their exclusive privileges, to let them feel the evils of a real separation of interests.

For this purpose, in the first parliament held under Queen Anne, in 1703, they passed what they called an Act of Security, which ordained that the successor of her Majesty should not be the same person with the individual adopted by the English Parliament, unless there should be a free communication of trade between the two kingdoms, and the affairs of Scotland thoroughly secured from English influence. To provide for the means of supporting this resolution, it was ordained in a separate Act that the whole nation should be put under arms, and regularly disci-

plined once a month. In support of the measure, an eloquence was exerted in Parliament, such as had never been before known in that assembly, and it was finally carried by a majority of fifty-nine votes.

Though at first alarmed at the Act of Security, the English ministers eventually found it necessary to allow the Queen to ratify it. They were partly brought to this conclusion by the resolution of the Scottish estates to withhold all supplies till it should receive the royal sanction, and partly, it is supposed, by a desire to convince the English of the necessity of a communion of privileges with Scotland.

Effectually alarmed by the extraordinary position of their neighbours, the English were glad to allow measures to be taken for an incorporating union. In Scotland this was more than what was contemplated; but yet, by the misconduct of the Duke of Hamilton, who was chief of the popular party, a vote was obtained, in 1705, allowing the Queen to nominate commissioners for a union.

These exalted personages, thirty on each side, met at Westminster in May 1706, and as they were almost all obsequious to the court, no difficulty was experienced in forming the articles of the treaty. The two countries were to be indissolubly united under one government, but each to preserve its own laws. The crown was to be settled in the House of Hanover. Scotland was to contribute forty-five members to the House of Commons, and sixteen peers, chosen by election, to the House of Lords. The Scottish merchants were to trade as freely with England and its

colonies as the English. The taxes were to be equalized, except that from land, which was arranged in such a way that when England contributed two millions, Scotland was only to raise a fortieth part of that sum, namely, forty-eight thousand pounds; and, as the English taxes were rendered burdensome by a national debt of sixteen millions, Scotland was to be compensated for its share in that burden by receiving about four hundred thousand pounds of ready money from England, which was to be applied to the renovation of the coin, the payment of the public debts, and a restitution of all the monies lost in the Darien expedition.

When these articles were laid before the Scottish Parliament in October, they produced a burst of indignation over the whole country. The wish of Scotland was to enjoy a share of English trade through a federative, not an incorporating union—that is, by a mere league between the two countries. The people could not endure the idea of surrendering an independence, or we should rather say, an individuality, which they had preserved against the English arms for so many centuries. The Jacobites, who were now a powerful party, saw in the union a solemn acknowledgment of the rights of the House of Hanover. The Presbyterians, or at least the more sincere part of them, were afraid to place themselves under a government of an episcopal character. Almost every class of persons had their own particular objections to it.

Yet, notwithstanding the opposition of the whole

people, a majority was obtained in Parliament to carry through this important measure. Out of the four hundred thousand pounds promised to Scotland, a great part was understood to be designed for the persons who should make themselves deserving of it. By this means, a full half of the members for shires and burghs, and a majority of the nobility, were brought over to give their votes. The work, in short, was accomplished by bribery.

The Parliament sat for weeks in mock deliberation upon the different articles, and during that time the people looked on with rage and despair, like slaves about to be sold in a market, and who yet know that they can do nothing to help themselves. They assembled every day in a very threatening manner around the house of assembly; but their unruly behaviour only gave a pretext for calling in the protection of the English soldiery. A general rising was projected by the Jacobites; but the scheme was marred by the indecision of the Duke of Hamilton, who was to have been its leader. If the people had considered the case properly, they would have seen the most powerful of all arguments for a union, in the way in which they were now treated by their legislature; for nothing could prove more strikingly that Scotland could no longer remain independent beside England, than that a few thousand pounds should have bought over a majority of its legislators on such an occasion as this.

In the articles prepared by the commissioners, no arrangement had been made respecting the established

religion of Scotland. This was now provided for in a separate Act, which declared the Presbyterian mode of church government to be unalterable. In February 1707, the Act of Union was fully ratified and transmitted to England, where it was passed by the two Houses of Parliament with very little opposition. In reward for his services at the head of the Scottish Parliament, the Duke of Queensbury received the English title of Duke of Dover, while many of the commissioners were also advanced to similar honours. The rewards distributed to the inferior actors were in some cases very small. Two hundred pounds was the whole sum awarded to several very eminent persons as the price of their consciences; and one nobleman, Lord Banff, received only eleven pounds two shillings, although he had been at the trouble to get himself converted from the Catholic faith in order to vote. It is curious to reflect that a measure which has tended, more perhaps than any other act of any other parliament, to the prosperity and happiness of the country, should have been effected by the foulest means, and that, if the legislature had been any thing approaching to a *representation* of the people, it never could have been effected.

Tories out of all their offices, and to surround himself with the Whigs, whom he knew to be his only sincere friends. The severity of this proceeding, added to the general discontent, produced an almost immediate insurrection. Two of those Tory ministers, namely, the Duke of Ormond and Lord Bolingbroke, immediately went to France, and entered the service of the Pretender. Another, the Earl of Mar, after in vain attempting to obtain the favour of King George, repaired to his native country, and, on the 6th of September 1715, set up the standard of rebellion in Aberdeenshire, although he is said to have had no commission to that effect from the Pretender. This nobleman, who had acted as Secretary of State under the late government, was speedily surrounded with hundreds of armed men, chiefly of the Highland clans, who were willing to be led by him to battle.

The government had at this time only a few regiments in Scotland, not exceeding in all fifteen hundred men, and these could not be concentrated in one place, without leaving all the rest of the country exposed. They were, however, put under the command of the Duke of Argyle, a young soldier who had served under Marlborough, and at one time commanded the British troops in Spain. The government could not well spare more men for service in Scotland, as England, being threatened with a corresponding invasion from France, required a great quantity of the disposable troops for its own defence, and also for the purpose of preventing a rising among the native Jacobites. An attempt was made to surprise Edinburgh Castle in

behalf of the Pretender, and it would have in all likelihood succeeded, but for the shameful negligence of one or two of the conspirators. By this enterprise, if successful, the Duke of Argyle must have been disabled for keeping together his small army, and the whole of the south of Scotland would at once have fallen into the hands of the insurgent general, if he had possessed common energy to take it into his possession.

The civil war now about to take place must be held as a striking proof of the misgovernment of Scotland since the revolution. The spirit of the people at large was so strongly disposed, by religion, to a settlement of the crown which should exclude the main line of the Stuart family, that no warlike demonstration could have ever after been made in behalf of that race, had the rulers of the country treated it with any degree of fairness or honesty. Had not every argument about the cruelty of Charles II. and his brother been answerable by an allusion to Glenco and Darien—had not every reference to the civil freedom now enjoyed been met with an execration of the Union, the shameful conduct of the men who carried it into effect, and the subsequent tyranny of the English Parliament over Scotland and all its interests—the Presbyterian religion, so generally diffused, was enough to have kept the nation on a friendly footing with the adherents of the protestant succession in England. When we see the country raising a large body of men, in order to place a Catholic upon the throne, and hardly any coming forward as volunteers in behalf of the esta-

blished order of things, we may be assured that the strongest possible proof is afforded of the extreme mismanagement of the country by the English government.*

Mar entered Perth on the 28th of September, having with him about five thousand horse and foot, all of whom, from the previous circumstances of the country, were enabled to come fully armed. Among his Highland adherents were the chieftains of Clanranald and Glengarry, the Earl of Breadalbane and the Marquis of Tullibardine (eldest son of the Duke of Atholl), all of whom brought their clansmen into the field. Among the Lowland Jacobites who had already joined him, were the Earls of Panmure and Strathmore, with many of the younger sons of consider-

* The arrangement of parties at the Union is a sufficient proof of the wretched notions which then obtained respecting political conduct. There was the court party, who had no principle but to serve the purposes of the men at the head of affairs. Then there was the country party, deriving its name from the *extraordinary* circumstance that it consulted the wishes and the good of the country. Lastly, overlooking the jacobites, whose objects are already known, there was a small faction called the *squadron volante*, who thought of nothing but how to make the most of their votes by throwing them into the most profitable scale. We hold that the title of *the country party*, taken with a full consideration of the state of popular feeling from which the nickname arose, is one of the strongest political satires on record. And it is to be recollected that this was the name of a party in England as well as in Scotland.

able families. On the 2d of October, a party of his troops performed the dexterous exploit of surprising a government vessel on the Frith of Forth opposite to Bruntisland, and taking from it several hundred stand of arms, which it was about to carry to the north, for the purpose of arming the Whig Earl of Sutherland against his Jacobite neighbours. This gave a little eclat to the enterprise.

The government, in order to encourage loyalty at this dangerous crisis, obtained an act, adjudging the estates of the insurgents to such vassals, holding of them, as should remain at peace. The state-officers were also very active in apprehending suspected persons, especially in England. Some gentlemen in the northern counties, fearing that this would be their fate, met on the 6th of October at Rothbury, and soon increased to a considerable party. Among them were, Mr. Forster, Member of Parliament for Northumberland, and Lord Widdrington. They made an advance to Newcastle, but were deterred from attacking it. They then concentrated themselves at Hexham, and opened a communication with Lord Mar. About the same time, the Viscount Kenmure, and the Earls of Nithisdale, Wintoun, and Carnwath, appeared in arms in the South of Scotland, with a considerable band of followers, and a junction was soon after effected between the two parties.

As the Earl of Mar was loath to leave the Highlands, where immense bands were mustering to join him, he resolved to make no attempt upon the Duke of Argyle, who had now posted his small force at

Stirling Bridge, which forms the only free pass between the north and south of Scotland. The Earl, however, thought it expedient to send a detachment of upwards of two thousand of his infantry across the Frith of Forth, in order to co-operate with him, when the proper time should arrive, by falling upon the Duke in flank. This party was placed under the command of Brigadier Macintosh of Borlum, an old officer who had been regularly trained under Marlborough; and by making a feint at Bruntisland, to which point they attracted the war vessels on the Frith, about sixteen hundred got safely over to East Lothian, and immediately marched upon Edinburgh, which was then quite defenceless. The Provost, however, had time to call the Duke of Argyle to his aid, who entered the west gate of the city with five hundred horse, at the same time that Macintosh was approaching its eastern limit. The insurgent chief turned aside to Leith, and barricaded his men in the old dismantled citadel of Oliver Cromwell. There he was called to surrender next day by the Duke, but returning only a haughty defiance, the assailing party had to retire to wait for cannon. The Brigadier took the opportunity that night to march back to East Lothian, where for a day or two he garrisoned Seton House, the princely seat of the Earl of Wintoun. The Duke of Argyle was obliged to leave him unmolested, in order to return to Stirling, upon which he learned that the Earl of Mar was marching with his whole force. The insurgent general was in reality only anxious to call him off from the party under Macin-

tosh. The capital being now protected by volunteers, that officer, in obedience to the commands of the Earl of Mar, marched to Kelso, where he formed a junction with the English and Lowland cavaliers.

There were now two Jacobite armies in Scotland, one at Perth, and another at Kelso. It appears to have been the obvious policy of both to have attempted to break up the Duke of Argyle's encampment, which was the sole obstacle to their gaining possession of Scotland. But this the Earl of Mar either found inconvenient or imprudent, and the party at Kelso was soon diverted to another scene of action. After a delay of some days, and much unhappy wrangling among themselves, it was determined by the leaders of this body to march into the west of England, where, as the country abounded with Jacobites, they expected to raise a large reinforcement. They therefore retired along the Border, by Jedburgh, Hawick, and Langholm, followed by a government force much inferior to themselves in numbers, under the command of General Carpenter. On the 31st of October they entered England, all except a few hundred Highlanders, who had determined to go home, and who were mostly seized by the country people upon the march.

Hitherto the insurrection had been a spontaneous movement of the friends of the Pretender, under the self-assumed direction of the Earl of Mar. It was now put into proper form by the Earl receiving a commission as generalissimo, from the royal personage in whose behalf he was acting. Henceforth the insurgent forces were supported by a regular daily pay of

threepence in money, with a certain quantity of provisions, the necessary funds being raised by virtue of the Earl's commission, in the shape of a land-tax, which was rendered severer to the enemies than to the friends of the cause. The army was now increased by nearly four thousand men brought by the Marquis of Huntly, eldest son of the Duke of Gordon, and as many who arrived under the charge of the Earl of Seaforth from the North Highlands. Early in November there could not be fewer than sixteen thousand men in arms throughout the country for the Pretender, a force tripling that with which Prince Charles penetrated England at a later and less auspicious period, and almost ravished the crown from the King's head. Yet even with all, or nearly all this force at his command, the Earl of Mar permitted the Duke of Argyle to protect the Lowlands and the capital with about three thousand men.

At length, on the 10th of November, having gathered nearly all the forces he could expect, he resolved to force the pass so well guarded by his opponent. When the Duke of Argyle learned that he was moving from Perth, he resolved to cross the Forth and meet his enemy on as advantageous ground as possible on the other side, being afraid that the superior numbers of the insurgents might enable them to advance upon more points of the river than he had troops to defend. He drew up his forces on the lower part of a swelling waste called the Sheriffmuir, with the village of Dumblane in his rear. His whole force amounted to three thousand three hundred men, of

whom twelve hundred were cavalry. Mar, reinforced on the march by the West Highland clans under General Gordon, advanced to battle with about nine thousand men, including some squadrons of horse, which were composed, however, of only country gentlemen and their retainers. Although the insurgents thus greatly outnumbered their opponents, the balance was in some measure restored by Mar's total ignorance of the military art, and the undisciplined character of his troops; while Argyle, on the other hand, had conducted armies under the most critical circumstances, and his men were not only perfectly trained, but possessed that superiority which consists in the mechanical regularity and firmness with which such troops must act. On the night of the 12th the two armies lay within four miles of each other. Next morning they were arranged by their respective commanders in two lines, the extremities of which were protected by horse. However, on meeting at the top of the swelling eminence which had been interposed between them, it was found that the right wing of each greatly outflanked the left wing of the other army. The commanders, who were stationed at this part of their various armies, immediately charged, and as in neither case there was much force opposed to them, they were both to that extent successful. The Duke of Argyle beat back the left wing of the insurgents, consisting of Highland foot and Lowland cavalry, to the river Allan. The Earl of Mar, in like manner, drove the left wing of the royal army, which was commanded by General Whitham, to the Forth. Neither

of these triumphant parties knew of what was done elsewhere, but both congratulated themselves upon their partial success. In the afternoon the Earl of Mar returned with the victorious part of his army to an eminence in the centre of the field, whence he was surprised, soon after, to observe the Duke of Argyle leading back the victorious part of his army by the highway to Dumblane. The total want of intelligence on each side, and the fear which ignorance always engenders, prevented these troops mutually from attacking each other. The Duke retired to the village; the Earl drew off towards Perth, whither a large part of his army had already fled in the character of defeated troops; and thus the action was altogether indecisive. Several hundreds were slain on both sides; the Earl of Strathmore and the chieftain of Clanrarnald fell on the side of the insurgents; the Earl of Forfar on that of the royalists. The Duke of Argyle reappeared next morning on the field, in order to renew the action; but finding that Mar was in full retreat to Perth, he was enabled to retire to Stirling with all the spoils of the field, and the credit of having completely defeated the insurgent general in his design of crossing the Forth. It is curious that even that part of his army which was discomfited by the Earl of Mar, had nevertheless become possessed of the principal standard of the enemy.

This day was fatal to the cause of the Pretender in another part of the kingdom. The large party of united Scots and English, under Forster, had penetrated to Lancashire, without gaining any such ac-

cessions of force as had been expected. On the 12th of November they were assailed in the town of Preston by a considerable force under General Willis, who had concentrated the troops of a large district in order to oppose their march. For this day they defended themselves effectually by barricading the streets; but next day the enemy was increased by a large force under General Carpenter, and the unfortunate Jacobites then found it necessary to surrender, upon the simple condition that they should not be immediately put to the sword. Forster, Kenmure, Nithsdale, Wintoun, and Macintosh, with upwards of a hundred other persons of distinction, including a brave and generous young nobleman, the Earl of Derwentwater, were taken prisoners. The common men, in number about fourteen hundred, were disposed about the country in prisons, while their superiors were conducted to London, and, after being exposed in an ignominious procession on the streets, (a mark of the low taste, as well as of the political animosity of the time,) imprisoned in Newgate, on a charge of high treason.

The affairs of the Pretender now began to decline in Scotland. The Earl of Sutherland, having established a garrison at Inverness, afforded to the Earl of Seaforth and the Marquis of Huntly an excuse for withdrawing their forces from Perth. Some of the other clans went home to deposit their spoil, or because they could not endure to be taunted for their bad behaviour at Sheriffmuir. The army being thus reduced to about four thousand men, various officers

began to think of capitulating with the Duke of Argyle. There was one grand obstacle to this. In compliance with a pressing invitation which they had dispatched in better times, they were daily expecting the Pretender to arrive amongst them. Yet, even with this strong inducement to remain in arms, they compelled the Earl of Mar to open a negotiation with the royalist general. In answer to their message, the Duke of Argyle informed them that he had no power to treat with them as a body, but would immediately send to court to ask for the required instructions. They were in this posture when the unfortunate son of James VII. landed (December 22) at Peterhead, and advanced to the camp to put himself at their head. The Earl of Mar and some other officers went to Fetteresso to meet him, and to apprise him of the present state of his affairs. Although greatly dejected by what he heard, and much reduced in health by a severe ague, he resolved to establish himself in royal state at Perth, in the hope of perhaps re-animating the cause. Advancing through Brechin and Dundee, he entered Perth in a ceremonious manner on the 9th of January ; but he could not conceal his mortification, on finding how much his forces were reduced in number. It was nevertheless determined that he should be crowned at Scone on the 23rd. If he was disappointed with his men, they were no less so with him. Whether from natural softness of character, or through the influence of his late malady, or from despair of his present circumstances, he appeared exceedingly tame and inanimate ; quite the reverse, in

every respect, of the bold and stirring chief required for such an enterprise.

The Duke of Argyle, having now received large re-inforcements from England, besides three thousand Dutch troops, sent in terms of the treaty of Utrecht, found himself as superior in numbers to the Earl of Mar, as that general had been to him in the early part of the campaign. On the 23rd of January, the day on which the Pretender was to have been crowned, the royalist troops commenced their march upon Perth, through a deep snow. To retard their progress, all the villages upon the road were burnt to the ground by the insurgents, by which much private misery was occasioned. It was now debated at Perth whether they ought to remain within the town and defend themselves against the royal forces, who, in this weather, must suffer very severely in the fields, or to march northward and disperse. A great part of the clans were anxious in the highest degree for a battle with the Duke ; but the safety of the Pretender's person was a consideration which precluded all desperate hazards. It was resolved to vacate Perth. Accordingly on the 30th of January, a day ominous to the House of Stuart, from its being the anniversary of the death of Charles I., the remains of the highland army deployed across the river, then covered with thick ice, and marched to Dundee. The Duke entered the town with his vanguard, only twelve hours after the rear-guard of the insurgents had left it. But the state of the roads rendered it impossible for him, with all the appurtenances of a regular army, to overtake the

light-footed mountaineers. He followed on their track towards Aberdeen, at the distance of one or two marches behind them. At Montrose, the Pretender and the Earl of Mar provided for their own safety by going on board a French vessel. The army, which had been fast declining by the way, was finally disbanded on the 7th of February at Aberdeen, after which every man shifted for himself. Thus ended the insurrection of 1715, an enterprise begun without concert or preparation, and which therefore languished so much throughout all its parts, that it could hardly be considered in any other light than as an appearance of certain friends of the House of Stuart in arms.

The Earl of Derwentwater and the Viscount Kenmure were the only individuals of distinction who suffered death for this rebellion. They were beheaded on Tower Hill on the 24th of February. All the rest of the noblemen and gentlemen taken at Preston either made their escape from Newgate, which on this occasion manifested a peculiar weakness, or were pardoned. About twenty inferior persons were executed. There were, however, at least forty families of distinction in Scotland, whose estates were forfeited. It is to be mentioned, to the honour of the Argyle family, that they counselled lenient measures, and set the example by not taking advantage of the law against such of their vassals as had forfeited their estates into their hands as superiors. But the government was inspired with an unaccountable jealousy respecting even the Duke himself, although to his firmness and gallantry was to be attributed the sup-

pression of the insurrection in Scotland ; and, so far from listening to his humane counsels, they disgraced him, like Belisarius, almost in the hour of victory, depriving him of all his employments, and sending him into the world as a suspected Jacobite !

CHAPTER X.

REBELLION OF 1745.

EVEN before the Rebellion of 1715, the Union was beginning to produce its good effects on the commerce of the country, particularly at Glasgow, which, being favourably situated in respect of the American and West Indian colonies, now began to lose its character of a small episcopal city, and to assume that which it has since borne so conspicuously, a great commercial and manufacturing capital. Accordingly, throughout nearly the whole of the lowlands, the insane spirit of resentment which made nearly all men, in 1707, declare for a Catholic pretender rather than submit to the indignities offered by more liberal rulers, was now on the wane.

A different result was shown in the highlands. In that immense tract of comparatively waste country, there still lived numerous clans or tribes of uncivilized people, who acknowledged hardly any national law or regulation, but professed obedience solely to the will of their patriarchal chiefs, who were their leaders in war, and their landlords and judges in peace. The claims of hereditary royalty had made a deep impres-

sion on this rude but not ungenerous people, which was confirmed by the military glories which they had gained under Montrose and Dundee. Thus, while George I. held sway over many millions of peaceful and industrious people south of the Forth and Tay, his government was entirely disowned by many thousands of warlike people beyond that boundary, who were as unlike the rest of their countrymen in manners and ideas, as if they had lived in another quarter of the globe. Even although the whole of the civilised part of the British people had been disposed to live under the new dynasty as settled by parliament, they were still liable to be forced from their allegiance by a small band of warlike fellow-citizens, who were totally inaccessible to all sense of a parliamentary title, and had both the power and the will to overrun the kingdom in a few days, if not effectually checked by a standing army.

The government was not nearly so much alive to this danger as it ought to have been. The ministers of George I. and, after his death in 1727, of his son George II. were sensible of the existence of a large Jacobite party, but they rather thought of meeting its force in parliament, where it was quite harmless, than of disarming this truly threatening part of it, the remoteness of which lessened its real terrors. The exiled claimant of the throne exerted himself, on the other hand, to keep alive the spirit of the clans in his favour. The chiefs were far more at the foreign courts where he lived, than at that of Great Britain ;

and money, promises, and flatteries, were not spared to fix their attachment.

In 1719, the Pretender married the Princess Clementina Sobeiski, grand-daughter of the heroic king of Poland ; a lady possessed of a large private fortune. By her he had two sons, Charles-Edward, born in 1720, and Henry-Benedict, born in 1725. After he began to grow old himself, the hopes of his adherents were fixed upon Prince Charles, who, as he grew up, manifested a character of some energy, considerable talent, and manners of the most engaging kind. A close but cautious correspondence was maintained between the court of the exiled prince, and his adherents throughout Britain ; and it has been since discovered, that many persons of distinction, who seemed perfectly reconciled to the new dynasty, were secretly prepared to exert themselves, at a fitting opportunity, for the House of Stuart.

The truth is, the Jacobite cause embraced people of more diversified views than is generally supposed. Not only did it include the Highlanders, who esteemed it as resting on the strong principle of hereditary right, besides many other persons of warm hearts and weak heads, who thought it identical with every principle of justice and generosity ; but among the Jacobites were also to be found a still more respectable class of malcontents, those, to wit, who felt a dissatisfaction with the odious corruption of the government during the administration of Sir Robert Walpole, and who looked to the opposing claimant, as to one who, improved by adversity, might be expected

to rule upon purer principles and with a greater regard to the good of the country. It might be objected to this class of persons, that the present race of sovereigns secured the Protestant religion, and were shorn of much of the prerogative claimed by the latter Stuarts; but on the other hand, it was said that they set aside religion and the prerogative as two points on which the public attention was awake, while on many others the government was no more liberal than that which preceded the Revolution. If the Stuarts were led into arbitrary measures, it was very much in consequence of their not possessing the art so notoriously practised by their successors, of purchasing the good will of the parliament by money, which it was itself employed nominally in raising from the people. The want of this cordiality with parliament prevented the Stuarts from running into any debt, whereas the succeeding sovereigns had burdened the nation with a hopelessly large sum, which had partly been employed in wars with which it had properly no concern, and partly in keeping up the present system of corruption. The Scottish Jacobites could still declaim about Glenco, Darien, the Union, and the tyranny of the British parliament over their country, as their own peculiar grievances.

It would have been the object of an enlightened government to enquire carefully into the condition of the Highlands, with the view of rendering the people good subjects. The efforts of the Walpole ministry were limited, however, to a disarming act, which was easily eluded, the erection of Fort Augustus, and the

formation of two lines of road through the country. Hardly any attempt was made to soften the moral character of the people, or break up the system of slavery in which they lived. Thus, while the Lowlanders were prospering under the effects of the Union, and every day becoming more and more reconciled to the external kind of government under which they were placed by that treaty, the Highlanders were as ready in 1745, as they were in 1715, to form a military expedition in behalf of the House of Stuart.

During this interval, though there was still an officer called secretary of state for Scotland, the chief affairs of the country was directed and its patronage dispensed, by the Earl of Ilay, brother to the Duke of Argyle, and who himself acceded to that title in 1743. This nobleman acquired his influence chiefly through the friendship of Sir Robert Walpole, and it was of so powerful a kind that he was generally called the *King of Scotland*. Whenever he returned from London, where he chiefly resided, he was received at Holyrood-house by the judges and magistrates in their robes; and during the whole period of his residence there, his apartments were resorted to, like a royal court, by all who had any thing to expect from the government. Even in his absence, his deputy, Lord Justice Clerk Milton, was courted as a personage little short of royalty. Nor was his influence limited to the mere patronage of the state; all inferior patrons whatsoever were glad to yield up their powers to Lord Ilay, in the hope of obtaining larger favours from himself at another time. All this shows how indiffe-

rent the English ministry was, for a long time, to the interests of Scotland. Looking upon it as a country which could produce nothing for the general exchequer, they did not consider it worthy of the least attention, beyond what was necessary to prevent it from annoying England. By placing it entirely under the control of one statesman, they certainly acted against all the principles of free government; the personal friends and local dependents of the Earl of Ilay were alone conciliated, while all who would not condescend to court that nobleman, or who were beyond the sphere of his sympathies, were placed in hopeless and discontented opposition to the state, where they instantly became liable to the temptations of the exiled dynasty. It is also certain that, under the management of Lord Ilay, the law officers and judges formed a kind of junto, responsible only to him, and, in that character, exercised an authority of the most severe and unconstitutional kind. It may be remarked, that distance tends very much to blunt our sense of what is right and wrong. We will be little affected by an act of cruelty which takes place in a remote country, while we will shudder at one much less severe which takes place in our own. Rulers are, in this manner, very apt to govern more liberally at the seat of government and for some space around it, than in the distant provinces, or in any dependent country or colony. Thus, the British government has often acted in such a manner towards Scotland and Ireland, as it would never dare to attempt in England; even in our own time, such maxims and systems have been

acted upon, in at least one of these countries, as were found impracticable in England, perhaps several centuries ago. The government generally feels little pressure from its remote provinces, and the idea of a difference of national character will reconcile the humanest statesmen to what they think a corresponding difference of policy. There have been instances, however, of this being pressed so very far as to produce serious consequences. Thus Scotland rebelled against Charles I. in 1639, and gave the first impulse to the civil war; and thus, at a later period, were the American colonies lost to Great Britain.

The great support of the government at this period was in the established religion. Gratified at last in possessing a mode of church government, for which it had long contended, Scotland was disposed to submit to every evil which accompanied that blessing. No government ever purchased the obedience of a nation more cheaply. The Church, however, was unfortunately rent at this period by a few clergymen who refused to submit to certain of its rules. These dissenters were expelled in 1733, and became the founders of a large and most respectable sect called the *Seceders*.

The celebrated Porteous mob occurred in 1736, and forms a curious anecdote of Scottish national feeling. Two smugglers being convicted of robbing an excise officer of a sum in which he had amerced them, were condemned to suffer death. The sympathy with which the people beheld a breach of the excise laws, was increased before the day of execution

by the gallantry of the principal culprit, who contrived, while seated in church, to hold the guard till his companion escaped. It was expected that the populace would attempt to rescue this man at the gallows, and accordingly the magistrates took into consideration the propriety of strengthening their small military police or town guard, by a detachment of regular troops. The whole corps, including their commander Captain Porteous, took it very ill that they were supposed to be unable to guard the execution ; and ultimately no regular force was called in. The execution passed off without disturbance till the close, when the executioner, in cutting down the culprit, was severely pelted with stones. The town guard hereupon fired at the crowd, and killed several persons ; after which Captain Porteous led off his men, followed by the execrations of the multitude. This individual himself was accused of not only having given the command to fire, but of having fired himself ; and under the influence of very excited feelings, a jury found him guilty of murder, although he proved that his piece remained undischarged after the riot, while his pouch contained the whole amount of ammunition which had been served out. In the opinion of reflecting persons, this was severe treatment to a public servant, who had been entrusted with arms for the protection of the peace, and who, at the very worst, did not use these arms till provoked to do so by an unruly multitude. The blame rather lay with the magistracy, who had committed arms to an irre-

gular species of soldiery,* for such a purpose. The government, taking this view of the matter, reprieved Captain Porteous for six weeks. But the populace were determined that he should not escape what they were pleased to call justice ; and accordingly a conspiracy was laid for putting the sentence in execution. On the evening of the 8th of September, the day before that on which Porteous was to have suffered, a multitude was collected in the streets by beat of drum. The conspirators then put guards upon the city gates, to prevent the intrusion of the regular soldiery, after which they disarmed the city guard, and, proceeding to the prison, forced an entrance by burning the outer gate, and seized Porteous in his cell. Having borne him along the street to the usual place of execution, they hanged him over a dyer's pole which happened to stand near the spot, and when life was extinct, they peaceably dispersed. The magistrates were so completely paralysed by the boldness of the mob, that they did not cut down the victim till seven o'clock next morning. Every effort was made to discover the ringleaders, but without the least success. It was a general impression that they were men of considerable rank. The government was in the highest degree indignant at the contempt which had been shown for its authority, and a bill was introduced into the House

* The town-guard consisted of ninety men, clothed in a deep scarlet uniform, and armed with muskets and other weapons. It had been instituted in the reign of James VI. and was not changed for an ordinary police till the year 1817.

of Lords for disfranchising the Corporation of Edinburgh, and otherwise degrading the city. Ultimately, however, the magistrates were only obliged to give the sum of two thousand pounds to the widow of Captain Porteous.

In 1744, Great Britain was engaged in a war which involved most of the great powers of Europe. Among its opponents, France, then under the government of Louis XV., took a leading part. The French minister, Cardinal de Tencin, conceived that an invasion of England on behalf of the House of Stuart would be an excellent diversion in favour of the arms of his country. Accordingly, in the year mentioned, Prince Charles was entertained at the court of Versailles, and an expedition of twelve thousand men was actually fitted out at the port of Gravelines, with the celebrated Marshal Saxe for its commander. The fleet which carried this large force had no sooner left the shores of France than it was opposed by a larger English armament, which must have seriously damaged it, if both had not been dispersed by a storm. The expedition was then given up. Some years before this time, seven Scottish Jacobites of distinction had entered into a bond, engaging to raise their men in favour of the Pretender, whenever six thousand French troops could be landed in Scotland. In 1744, Prince Charles received another communication to the same effect, by the hands of Mr. Murray of Broughton, a young lowland gentleman of considerable accomplishments. This agent, however, was commissioned to inform him at the same time that,

without a French force to the amount stated, they could not hazard themselves in an insurrection.

Charles, with the ardour of youth, was disposed to overlook the latter part of the communication. He was impressed with a belief that, if he could only get to Scotland by himself, he would be able to raise an immense army among his adherents, even without the aid of a foreign force. He therefore determined to wait no longer upon the pleasure of the French court, but to sail for Scotland with such arms and furnishings as his private fortune could supply. On the 20th of June 1745, he embarked on board the *Doutelle*, a frigate of sixteen guns, and was soon after joined by the *Elizabeth*, containing two thousand muskets and six hundred broadswords: his treasury containing a sum under four thousand pounds. His mind, he said, was made up, to gain a crown or a coffin. On the voyage, he lost the *Elizabeth*, which was disabled by an encounter with a British vessel. On reaching the Hebrides or Western Islands, he came in contact with Macdonald of Boisdale, brother of Clanranald, who was a very powerful chief. All his entreaties, however, were unable to prevail upon this gentleman to join his cause. The few gentlemen who were with him, all except his tutor Sir Thomas Sheridan, were so much depressed by this incident, that they advised him to give up the enterprise. He nevertheless persisted, and on the 19th of July cast anchor in Loch-nanuagh, one of the many arms of the sea which penetrate the western coast of Inverness-shire. Here he soon obtained an interview with the young chief of

Clanranald, who, like his uncle Boisdale, professed a great reluctance to raise his forces without some assistance from France. Charles was much dejected, but could not be dissuaded his enterprise. Observing a youth in Clanranald's train to be much affected by the coldness of that chief, he appealed to him, if he would not draw his sword for the cause of legitimate royalty. "Aye," said the young highlander, "though not another man in Scotland should befriend you." This enthusiasm extended to Clanranald, who immediately pledged himself to the Prince's service, and invited him to come on shore. Charles landed on the 25th with a retinue of seven persons, and for a few days lived privately in the farm-house of Borrodale, where he was most kindly entertained. The young chief of Lochiel was soon apprised of his arrival, and hastened to give him welcome, but at the same time to advise him to go back to France, as there was no chance of success without a large foreign armament. But Charles, by working upon the feelings of this generous person, easily gained him over to his purpose. Without Lochiel, it was understood, hardly any of the other clans would have moved; but when they knew that he was to rise, they no longer hesitated. It was resolved to erect the Prince's standard at Glenfinnin on the 19th of August, and in the mean time to apprise as many of the friends of the cause as were likely to join it before that day.

George II. was at this time absent on a visit to his native dominions in Germany, and the affairs of the kingdom were managed by lords justices. Scotland was, as already mentioned, chiefly under the domina-

tion of the Duke of Argyle, with Lord Justice Clerk Milton for his deputy. General John Cope was commander in chief of the forces in Scotland, which consisted, however, of only two regiments of dragoons, three regiments and fourteen odd companies of infantry, and the invalid garrisons of the four forts appointed to be kept by the Act of Union.* The state-officers at Edinburgh were not apprised of Charles's landing till the 9th of August; the intelligence was immediately communicated to the Lords Justices, who had already, on the strength of a report that he had sailed from France, proclaimed a reward of thirty thousand pounds for his head. Cope was ordered to collect the troops under his command, and march immediately into the Highlands, in order to seek out the young Pretender (so Charles was called), wherever he might be. This order was in accordance with the recommendation of Lord President Forbes, who humanely wished that the insurrection should be suppressed as early as possible, so that the fewer individuals might be involved in its fatal consequences. Cope, on the 20th of August, marched from Stirling with the whole of his infantry, amounting to fourteen hundred men; but he thought it best to leave the two regiments of dragoons, as they could not be expected to fight advantageously in the Highlands. In the expectation of being joined by some of the loyal clans, he carried with him a thousand stand of spare arms. He had also provision for three weeks. Advancing by the most direct road, he reached Dalnacardoch on the

* Edinburgh, Stirling, Dumbarton, and Blackness.

25th ; but, though he was then in the centre of the Highlands, not a single man had yet joined him, while many of his regular soldiers had deserted.

True to his appointment, Prince Charles had appeared at Glenfinnin on the 19th, and being joined by the Clan Cameron, seven hundred strong, and by about as many more of different families, his standard was erected by the Marquis of Tullibardine, the man of highest rank present. The sight of his banner excited feelings of the highest enthusiasm in the Highlanders, who were further animated by a small success they had obtained over a party of regular soldiers between Fort Augustus and Fort William. The Marquis, after rearing the standard, read a manifesto in the name of Prince Charles's father, and also a commission of regency from that person in favour of his son. By virtue of the latter document, Charles assumed, throughout all his subsequent transactions, the title of Prince Regent. In this character, he issued a proclamation parodying that which had just been issued by the Lords Justices, and offering a like sum for the head of the Elector of Hanover—for so he denominated the reigning sovereign. This was looked upon as a very spirited act ; but the wit would have perhaps been greater still, if he had adhered to his original idea of offering only thirty pounds, instead of thirty thousand. It would be difficult, perhaps, to find proper grounds in either divine or human law, for the proceeding which he thus held up to ridicule.

In the course of a few days Charles had advanced into the country so far as Lochgarry, where he first

heard of the march of General Cope. He had been making the greatest efforts to raise some of the clans, especially the Macleods and the Macdonalds of the Isle of Skye, and the Frasers of Lovat ; but the chiefs of these numerous tribes could not be prevailed upon to stir without a large foreign army. The whole policy of the Prince was of a bold and adventurous character; he had resolved that the enterprise should not be defeated, like that of 1715, for want of rapid and decisive movements. He was delighted to hear of the advance of the royal forces, as he anticipated that a victory gained over them in the Highlands would at once decide all the wavering clans in his favour. When he learned that Cope was at Dalnacardoch, he led forward his men to Abertarf, near Fort Augustus, and sent a party to take possession of Corryarrack, a high hill interposed between him and the enemy. He had now assumed the Highland dress, for the purpose of ingratiating himself with the clans ; and it is said that when he tied his brogues that morning he vowed not to take them off till he had fought the enemy. The Highlanders, who were delighted with his frank and fearless bearing, also expressed the greatest satisfaction in the approaching conflict.

But General Cope had now seen fit to make a material change in his design. On reaching Dalwhinnie he began to feel that he was in an enemy's country, with an important force exposed to very peculiar hazards. The mountain of Corryarrack was before him, over which he must needs pass in order to reach the Highland army. Its defiles were, as he learned, full of am-

buscades, which must expose his army to the greatest danger. While it was thus impossible to march forward, a retreat to the Lowlands was likely to give encouragement to the insurgents. He therefore determined, in a council of his officers, to march aside to Inverness, where he expected to be joined by some of the loyal clans. By this movement he knew that the way to the Low countries was left open to the enemy; but he calculated that the Highlanders would not dare to leave their country exposed to his vengeance.

Prince Charles, thus disappointed of a victory, resolved to descend upon the Lowlands, with such eclat as he might derive from the indecision of his opponent. He speedily crossed the mountain which had given such alarm to General Cope, and traversing Badenoch and Athole, was joined by numerous detachments of the inhabitants of those districts. At Blair the Marquis of Tullibardine took possession of the castle as his own property, being in reality the eldest son of the late Duke of Athole, although his attainder for treason in 1715 had left the title and estates open to his younger brother. The retainers of the family were in general favourable to the House of Stuart, and many of them joined the Prince at Blair, while others proposed to follow him as soon as possible. On the 3rd of September he made a triumphal entry into Perth, the city which his father had quitted under such unpleasant circumstances thirty years before.

At Perth he remained for a week, disciplining the forces he had already acquired, and receiving daily new accessions. The Athole men now joined him in

great numbers; likewise the Jacobites of Lower Perthshire; and, among the persons of distinction who flocked to his standard were the Duke of Perth, Lord Nairn, Oliphant of Gask, and Lord George Murray. The last person was a younger brother of the Marquis of Tullibardine, and since the insurrection of 1715, in which he bore arms, had acquired some military experience under the reigning family. He was nominated by Prince Charles to be generalissimo of the forces. On arriving at Perth, Charles had only one guinea in his pocket; but he soon raised subsidies in that town and at Dundee, and it is said that considerable sums were now transmitted to him by well affected persons residing in Edinburgh.

The utmost alarm now prevailed at Edinburgh. The march of Cope to Inverness had left it completely exposed to the attack of the Highlanders, unless, indeed, there might still be some virtue in its ancient wall, or in the two regiments of dragoons, aided by such infantry as the citizens themselves could raise. An effort was made, with the sanction of government, to raise a regiment of a thousand men; but, although large bounties were offered, no more than two hundred were ever enrolled, and these were in general very worthless persons. About four hundred of the citizens associated themselves in the character of a volunteer corps; the fortifications of the city were also improved as well as the time would admit; and the regular military police of the city was increased from ninety-six to a hundred and twenty-six men. Still, unless Cope should return in time from the north,

these defences seemed quite inadequate to the purpose. That doughty general was now fully sensible of his imprudence, and had sent to Leith for vessels to carry his troops back to the Lowlands. The citizens, therefore, looked upon it as a matter of mere chance whether they should fall under the power of the Pretender or that of King George.

Charles left Perth on the 11th of September, and, directing his march to the Fords of Frew, a few miles above Stirling, crossed the Forth at that point with the greatest ease, Gardiner's dragoons retreating before him to the capital. He here dispatched a party to lay Glasgow under a contribution, and making a sweep to avoid the guns of Stirling Castle, arrived at Falkirk on the 15th. Next day, he advanced without impediment to Linlithgow, where he was entertained in the palace. Another day's march brought him and his troops to Corstorphine, which is only two miles from the capital.

Brigadier-General Fowkes, who had been sent down from London on purpose, was now posted at Colt Bridge, near Corstorphine, with the two regiments of dragoons, one of which was commanded by Colonel Gardiner, an officer of distinguished bravery and good conduct. Fowkes desired the magistrates to aid him with the civic corps raised for the defence of the city; but it was found, at the last moment, that none of the volunteers had the courage to face the Highlandmen, and even of the town guard and Edinburgh regiment only a hundred and eighty men could be sent to Colt Bridge. The dragoons were accordingly so much

dispirited, that, on the approach of a single Highlander to reconnoitre their post, they turned and fled, galloping past the city in sight of all who chose to look; nor did they stop till they had put thirty miles between them and the enemy.

Charles encamped for the night at Stateford, where he opened a communication with the magistrates, calling upon them to admit his troops into the city, on assurance that he would faithfully respect private property, and the immunities of the corporation. They were exceedingly anxious to gain time, as they hourly expected to hear of the arrival of General Cope on the east coast. But Charles was fully aware of their object, and resolved to act with decision. Accordingly, on the morning of the 17th, he dispatched a party of the Camerons, with instructions to attempt the city on any weak point where they thought it might be most assailable. Before dawn, they had stealthily approached the gate of the city most remote from the camp, where one of their party, disguised in a riding dress, attempted to gain admittance on the pretence of carrying a message from the dragoons. He was refused entrance, and the guard even threatened to fire upon him unless he went away. Just at this juncture, the coachman who had conveyed the last civic deputation to and from the Prince's quarters, brought up his vehicle to the gate on the inside, in order to proceed to his quarters in the suburbs. The gate being opened to allow him to pass, the Camerons rushed in, and took possession of the city without the least difficulty. When the citizens

awoke, they found themselves under the government of a new, or rather a restored dynasty.

The Prince conducted his army that forenoon to the King's Park, and, with his principal officers, made a triumphal entry into Holyrood Palace. As the whole affair was conducted without violence, the populace flocked in great numbers to see him; and, being much struck by his elegant personal appearance, which was the more agreeable on account of his Scottish costume, they hailed him with loud acclamations. Many of his more particular friends now pressed around him, to kiss his hand, and offer him their congratulations. As he entered the Palace Square, one of those individuals who professed jacobitism solely on patriotic principles, presented his sword, and then marshalled the way before him into his apartments. This was Mr. Hepburn of Keith, a man considerably advanced in life, and much respected by both Whigs and Tories for his good sense and good feeling, but who, in this case, sacrificed every interest to a visionary idea of the good of his country.

At noon the Pretender was proclaimed from the cross, under the title of James the Eighth of Scotland and Third of England. Almost at the very same time, General Cope was landing his troops at Dunbar, having arrived exactly out of time to save the city. Next day Prince Charles was joined by a thousand Highlanders, who had followed close upon his march. He failed, however, to raise any considerable number of recruits among the inhabitants of Edinburgh, the expectation of a battle with General Cope being rather

unfavourable to the cause. With such troops as he had, he determined to meet the English general, who, he learned, was advancing towards Edinburgh. On the morning of the 20th, having put himself at the head of his men, he drew his sword, and crying aloud that he had "flung away the scabbard," commenced his march towards Musselburgh, in the expectation of meeting Cope in that neighbourhood.

The small regular army having been joined by the dragoons, now amounted to about two thousand men, with six pieces of light artillery. Against this force Charles led fully two thousand four hundred men; but to counterbalance the superiority of numbers, many of them were exceedingly ill armed, while none could pretend to any discipline except the mere instinct of springing upon their enemies, and endeavouring to cut down as many as possible. Cope had marched that morning from Haddington, and was advancing by a road near the shore of the Firth of Forth. Charles, on arriving at Musselburgh, and learning that Cope was not yet at hand, conducted his men towards the high grounds above Fawside, in order that the Highlanders might have their favourite advantage of charging down hill. Here, learning that the enemy was drawing near to Seton House, he marched forward to Tranent, where he saw General Cope drawing up his army on the plain below.

Charles would have at once attacked the enemy, if it had not been for a morass which interposed. His men, who shouted at sight of the regulars, were also very keen for the onset. But the evening being spent

in manœuvres, it was finally determined to wait till next morning. Long before dawn, the Highlanders were led by a country gentleman of the neighbourhood to the clear ground east of General Cope's bivouac, where they were drawn up in battle array without alarming a single outpost. The army was in two lines, the first comprising the Mac Donalds, Mac Gregors, and Camerons, who were deemed the best men. The second consisted of the worse armed, and was led by the Prince in person. Just as day was beginning to break, the whole moved quickly but silently forward, along the level stubble fields, only about a mile interposing between them and the enemy. Cope was apprised of their motions, in time to rouse his troops, and wheel them to the east. But he could not inspire courage into men who had already been confessed by their commanders as unfit to meet their opponents. On coming near enough, the clans gave and received fire. Then, after their usual custom, they flung away their muskets and upper garments, and rushed half naked and sword in hand upon the enemy. The artillery was seized by the Camerons, after only one discharge. The dragoons, who flanked the infantry, did not stay for the onset, but fled amain. Cope himself, in attempting to stop them, was hurried off the field. Colonel Gardiner then endeavoured to put himself at the head of the infantry; but they only stayed a minute or two after the dragoons, and then became an easy prey to the Highlanders, who cut down a great number, and took no fewer than seven hundred prisoners. Among the officers slain was Co-

lonel Gardiner, one of the best soldiers in the British army, and distinguished, amidst his dissolute fellows, for an extraordinary degree of piety and worth.

So easily was this victory gained, that, although the second line of the Highland army was only fifty yards behind the first, and ran as fast as possible, they did not find a single regular soldier on the field. Nevertheless, about thirty of the Highlanders were killed by the musketry and artillery, and a few wounded.

The Prince, and indeed the whole of his troops, used their advantage discreetly. The wounded were as carefully attended to as circumstances would admit of. Charles is said to have expressed much grief at seeing the havoc occasioned by the obstinacy, as he termed it, of his father's subjects; and, in the same good spirit, he forbade all rejoicings for a victory gained at their expense. On the ensuing day, he returned in triumph to Edinburgh, boasting truly that, except in the forts, he had not now an armed enemy in Scotland.

CHAPTER XI.

REBELLION OF 1745 CONTINUED.

THE battle of Preston pans, as it was called, gave so much lustre to the Prince's arms, that several persons of distinction, who had formerly hesitated, now joined his standard. Among these were the Earls of Kelly and Kilmarnock, and Lords Elcho, Balmerino, Ogilvie, and Pitsligo. The personage last mentioned was an aged nobleman, venerated alike for his wisdom and worth. His example was of such force, that almost all the country gentlemen of Aberdeenshire followed him to the field. These accessions were of a nature to allow the formation of three different bodies of cavalry. The Prince also received some further accessions from the Highlands.

George II. who had now returned from Hanover, found it necessary to order home a few regiments from Flanders, even at some hazard to his arms in that quarter. So rightly, however, had Charles calculated upon the defenceless condition of England at this juncture, that, if he could have invaded that country immediately after the battle, with four or five thousand men, he could not have been prevented from

reaching the capital. Unfortunately, the Highlanders went home in such numbers to deposit their spoil, that his army was now rather less than before the battle, so that an immediate irruption into England was out of the question. He did what he could to increase his force, by sending messengers to all the clans that were still at home, and by dispatching a formal envoy to France, with a request for supplies of men and money. To his great mortification, the people of the Isle of Skye were still withheld by their chiefs, nor could any representations decide the caution of Lord Lovat. He was gratified, however, by soon after receiving about 5000*l.* from France, along with two thousand five hundred stand of arms. These arrived in a vessel at Montrose, and were soon after followed by further contributions of arms to a very large amount. He was also given to understand that a French force would immediately be landed in South Britain, under the command of his younger brother.

Although Edinburgh was completely at his command, the castle was held out under General Preston; and, in consequence of some attempts of the Highlanders to stop supplies of provisions, a cannonade was opened by that fortress against various parts of the city. The inhabitants, being subjected by this to great inconvenience, entreated the Prince to remove the causes of jealousy, with which, after some reluctance, he complied.

Towards the end of October, the utmost force that he could collect was found not to exceed five thousand. With these, however, notwithstanding that a

small army was now drawn together at Newcastle, he resolved to enter England. The Highlanders had, from association, a great reluctance to this step. They recollected, how, both at Worcester and at Preston, a Scottish army had been surrounded and overpowered by the English. The proposal met with no encouragement in the Prince's council, except from a small knot of his personal friends, who devoutly believed that he could neither act nor think amiss. It was particularly opposed by Lord George Murray, who was one of the most independent of all his adherents. He was at length induced to moderate his demands to a march to the Borders, by way of keeping his men in exercise.

The army left the neighbourhood of Edinburgh, on the 31st of October, marching in two divisions. One was conducted by the Duke of Perth towards the western frontier. Another was led by himself to Kelso. To encourage the men, he walked at their head in Highland dress, carrying his target over his shoulder. In order to keep General Wade at Newcastle, a party was despatched to order quarters at Berwick. From Kelso also he made a demonstration towards the east, as if he were inclined to march against the English general by Wooler and Morpeth. Here, however, he suddenly turned to the west, exactly imitating the ominous march of Brigadier Macintosh in 1715. On the 8th of November he entered England, and quartered for the night at Reddings, where he was joined next day by the western division. The city of Carlisle had made some preparations for defence, and

Prince Charles was determined to take it before going further. Every preparation having been made, the Duke of Perth opened a small battery against it, composed of cannon which had arrived from France. After a siege of twenty-four hours, the citizens capitulated, and the Highland army obtained possession. A new debate here arose between the Prince and his officers. The former, with his usual ardour, was for pressing forward through the western counties of England, in the hope of raising the Jacobites of that district. The chiefs of the army were generally opposed to this step, representing that not only would they leave Wade's army to fall in behind them, but they would have to face another regular army of ten thousand men, whom they understood to be rendezvoused in Staffordshire. Nevertheless, as the experiment could not be very hazardous for a few stages, they at last consented to advance. Here considerable offence was expressed by the chiefs at the extent to which the Duke of Perth had been trusted, that nobleman being obnoxious as a catholic, and, in the general opinion, not nearly so well qualified for command as Lord George Murray. Both of these officers resigned their commissions, and the Prince composed the disturbance by returning that of Lord George alone.

On the 20th of November, the army advanced from Carlisle to Penrith, and thence to Kendal. Charles, as formerly, walked at the head of his men ; and it is said that, on first coming within sight of the beautiful scenery in the south of Cumberland, he stood for a while enraptured, as if congratulating himself on the

prospect of winning such a kingdom. His troops had been diminished a thousand upon the march, and three hundred were left to garrison Carlisle. To his insupportable mortification, he received no accessions to make up for this immense loss. At Preston, which was full of Catholics, he raised only a very few recruits. At Manchester, which he entered on the 29th, he was joined by two hundred of the merest populace, besides a few Catholic gentlemen. This reluctance to rise must not be attributed to the indifference of the people, for nothing can be more certain than that he had a vast number of friends in the west of England. It arose solely from the fear of his being unsuccessful, and thereby exposing them to the vengeance of the existing government. To have ensured their taking arms, he would have required to appear with a force almost sufficient to render their assistance needless. Thus it is shown that insurrections would oftener take place, and be oftener successful, if individuals could make certain that their friends would rise at the same time with themselves, so that the effort might be united.

From Manchester, the highland army advanced in two columns to Stockport and Knottessford, and at the former place Charles himself crossed the Mersey with the water up to his middle. On the 1st of December the two bodies joined at Macclesfield, whence they again diverged to Congleton and Gawsorth. By this deceptive movement, they caused the large army in front to suppose that they were about to give battle,

in which belief that force was kept stationary till the invaders had reached Derby, a full day's march nearer London than the position of the army. There was nothing now to prevent Charles from going on to the capital, if he could have been assured that his little army would be able to take possession of that large city, or if he could have been sure to retain the possession against two armies in the provinces, besides the troops in Flanders. For his own part, he wished most anxiously to advance, representing to his council that the King could never defend himself or the city without regular troops. But the chiefs of the enterprise were alarmed at the risk of being surrounded and cut off; and, much against his will, it was resolved to return to Scotland. They accordingly commenced their retrograde march on the 6th, pursued at the distance of two day's march by the English army. This force had for some time been under the command of the Duke of Cumberland, the second son of the King, and who, though very young, had already served abroad. It was equally to his disgrace as a general, that he permitted the highlanders to get a day's march a-head of his army, and that he did not know of their retreat for two days after it had commenced.

The inhabitants of London and the people of England in general were struck with great alarm at this strange invasion. When it was known at the capital that the highlanders had eluded the regular troops, and were within a hundred miles of the city, a complete panic seized the mercantile classes, who are not un-

justly characterized by an historian* as "a race that screams at imaginary dangers." There was a considerable run upon the Bank of England, and it is said that the King had prepared the means of quitting the country. In truth, it was rather the boldness of the attack than the strength of the invaders that communicated alarm: it was a general impression that an army of a few thousand men could never have ventured so far into the country, unless they had had reason to expect a general rising in their favour. The retreat put an end to all these surmises, and restored general confidence, being a confession on the part of Prince Charles that he had no strength except what was already in the field.

The Duke of Cumberland set a large body of cavalry in motion, to hang upon the rear of the highland army. These horsemen, however, never overtook the retiring host till the 18th, when they had nearly reached Penrith. Charles was at that town with the main body of the troops, while Lord George Murray was advancing with the rear-guard from Shap. This latter body, consisting of only a few hundred men, was overtaken near Clifton by the whole body of the dragoons, amounting to several thousands. Fortunately it was not till after night-fall, when the moon only gave occasional light from behind the clouds. Lord George formed his small band on the moor to the right; the Duke drew up his troops within the

* Mr. Malcolm Laing, author of the History of Scotland from the union of the crowns to the union of the kingdoms.

opposite enclosures. There was then only a road with hedgerows between them. Having first taken some pains to animate his men, Lord George led the left wing across the road and its enclosures, and, attacking a large body of the enemy who acted as infantry, drove them back with great loss to the main body. His right wing at the same time beat back a large body of cavalry. As the enemy did not show any further desire of hostilities, he drew off towards the main body at Penrith, leaving a hundred and fifty of the dragoons dead on the field, while he himself had only lost twelve men, who pursued too far, and were taken.

The whole of the retreating army reached Carlisle next day, and, as Charles was confident of soon returning to co-operate with the French army which he expected to land in England, he thought it necessary to leave a garrison in Carlisle, in order to keep the way open. About three hundred men were left on this duty, being chiefly the English who had joined at Manchester. They were at first in no alarm at their situation, knowing that the Duke had no cannon to form a battery. This convenience, however, he soon obtained from Whitehaven, and the garrison were obliged to surrender on the 30th, with the assurance only of being reserved for the King's pleasure. The Duke pursued the highlanders no further, being himself recalled to London, in order to take the command of another army. This was a force which in the mean time had been rendezvoused along the coasts of Kent

and Sussex, for the purpose of protecting those shores from the expected invasion of the French.

The highland army quitted the English territory on the 20th of December, having made a deeper inroad into that country than any former Scottish host, except the army under Charles II., which was destroyed at Worcester. In the mean time, the government had thrown a considerable body of troops into Edinburgh, and the south of Scotland in general was just as hostile to the jacobite cause as formerly. Even in some of the northern towns the ascendancy of the Prince's friends was seriously disputed. At Inverness, a considerable body of loyal highlanders had been mustered under the Earl of Loudoun, so as to overawe no small portion of the disaffected country. There were, however, about four thousand highlanders rendezvoused at Perth, on behalf of the Prince, and Lord Lewis Gordon was making considerable exertions in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, to raise the dependants of his brother, the Duke of Gordon. A small quantity of troops had also landed at Montrose under Lord John Drummond, brother to the Duke of Perth, bringing with them some artillery and other military stores.

The Prince, finding no temptation to return to Edinburgh, now directed his march by Dumfries to Glasgow, which city he entered on Christmas day. On this march, the highlanders burnt a considerable part of the village of Lesmahago, in revenge for the seizure of one of the Prince's aides-de-camp, Mac Donald of Kinlochmoidart, which had been effected

by the inhabitants under the direction of their minister. As the cause of this violence was almost the only act of positive hostility which the people of Scotland had committed against the Prince, so was the conflagration of the village happily the only outrage of any consequence which the highlanders committed in the course of their singular expedition. It was remarkable, indeed, of this insurrection, that the highlanders were every where expected to violate life and property, as a natural result of their untutored character, but that, with small and unavoidable exceptions, they conducted themselves with gentleness and propriety, their principal object being in reality of too lofty a kind to admit of mean considerations, or of any thing like gratuitous wickedness in the prosecution of it.

It was hardly an exception from this rule, that the chiefs of the enterprise always resented very bitterly any demonstrations of the people in favour of the government. Thus, the town of Dumfries having seized part of their baggage when they were on the march to England, Charles obliged the inhabitants to purchase his mercy, on his return, at the expense of two thousand pounds. The city of Glasgow was also compelled to furnish stores and money to the extent of 10,000*l.* on account of its having sent a volunteer corps of six hundred men to join the English army at Edinburgh. Charles left Glasgow on the 3rd of January (1746), and, being joined by the troops from Perth, found himself at the of 9000 men, being the largest force he ever had in the field at once. With

these troops he invested Stirling Castle, against which he placed the artillery just arrived from France. This fortress was maintained by General Blakeney, and the siege was conducted so unskilfully by the French gunners, as to produce hardly any impression. The attention of the insurgents was soon called in another direction by intelligence of the march of the English army from Edinburgh. This force, which consisted of about the same number of men with the Highlanders, was commanded by General Hawley, a veteran officer of reputation, who, entertaining a great contempt for the Highlanders, whom he had seen repulsed by cavalry at Sheriffmuir, made no scruple to proclaim every where that he was sure of victory.

The regular troops encamped on the evening of the 16th, on a field near Falkirk, and Charles next day prepared to give him battle. He first sent out a large party upon the road from Stirling to Falkirk, in order to induce a belief that he was about to make a direct attack. While their attention was thus engrossed, he secretly led the main body of his army across the Carron at Dunnipace, and made a stealthy approach to the high grounds above Falkirk, whence he might charge the English down hill and in flank. Hawley, not believing that the Highlanders would dare to face so well appointed an army, had gone this morning to Callender, to breakfast with the Countess of Kilmarnock, whose husband was in the Prince's army. He was entertained so agreeably by this lady, that though repeated messages were sent to him, intimating the near approach of the insurgent troops, he did not

come to the camp till past one o'clock. The inferior officers had by this time marshalled the army, but the late arrival of the general prevented him from taking further measures with the proper deliberation. Learning that the Highlanders were marching towards the hills, he gave hasty orders for the troops to march thither also, in order to anticipate the ground; a movement which introduced disorder into his battalions, and was the cause of the subsequent defeat.

As might have been expected in a march up hill, the Highlanders came much more promptly to their ground than the English. The two parallel columns in which they moved, having come to the right place, were simply made to face towards the left, and then became a double line. Hawley, who had been obliged to leave his cannon behind, brought his men to face the Highlanders on the side of the hill, but rather further down. His cavalry, from having marched fastest, were at the upper part of his lines; and the Glasgow regiment of volunteers formed a reserve in the rear. When the action was about to commence, a severe storm of rain and snow began to beat in the faces of his men, which rendered many of their firelocks useless. The dragoons, who were chiefly the same men that behaved so ill at Colt Bridge and Preston, being ordered to attack the enemy, advanced with some hesitation, and were received by the Highlanders, when at ten yards distance, with so severe a fire, that they instantly turned and galloped through their own infantry. Only a few persisted in dashing into the Highland ranks, where

they were almost all cut to pieces. Lord George Murray, who commanded at the corresponding part of the insurgent army, now ordered his men to remain firm on their ground; but it appears to have not been in the nature of the Highlanders to see an enemy flying before them without following. They immediately rushed forward, sword in hand, and soon swept the whole of Hawley's army down hill, except three regiments at the right wing, which happened to be out of the scope of their attack. The left wing of the insurgents went forward against this body, but were received with much firmness, and ultimately General Huske, who was second in command under Hawley, was able to lead off this part of the army uninjured. The general issue, however, was a disgraceful flight to Edinburgh, with the loss of the camp, the artillery, and baggage.

The Highland army were not at first aware of the extent of their victory, and therefore lost the opportunity of harassing General Hawley in his retreat. In reality, their success was a misfortune to the Prince, for the clansmen retired in such numbers to deposit their spoil, that his army was reduced in a few days to about five thousand men. Finding it impossible with this force to follow up his victory by a new attack upon General Hawley, he resumed the siege of Stirling Castle, which proved as fruitless as formerly. His chief supporters now held a council on their own authority, and determined that it was impossible to carry on the war any longer in the low country, at least for the present. They presented a paper to the

Prince, in which they recommended an immediate retreat to the north, for the purpose of recruiting their strength, and recommencing hostilities with fresh vigour in spring. To this, with great reluctance, he was obliged to yield obedience; and accordingly, on the 1st of February, the army crossed the fords of Frew, blowing up their powder magazine of St. Ninian's, to prevent it falling into the hands of the enemy. It happened that two days before this event, the Duke of Cumberland arrived at Edinburgh to put himself at the head of the army, no inferior hand being now judged sufficient to contend with the insurgents. His Royal Highness lost no time in following the Highlanders; but they marched with so much more speed than the regular forces, that he soon gave up all hopes of overtaking them. On his reaching Perth, on the 6th, he found that they were three days in advance, one division marching by the Highland road, and the other by the east coast. After tarrying here a few days, he received intelligence of the arrival of five thousand Russian troops in the Firth of Forth; a force which the King of Great Britain had engaged, in order to assist his own army in suppressing the insurrection. He returned to Edinburgh to receive these auxiliaries, who were under the command of his brother-in-law, the Prince of Hesse-Cassel.

It was now a general belief among the English officers, that the Highlanders would disperse, as they did at the close of the former insurrection, and that the war was therefore at an end. The Duke was only prevented from acting upon this supposition, by the

opinion of Lord Milton, the Justice Clerk, who, as already mentioned, enjoyed a large share of power in Scotland, under the direction of the Duke of Argyle. By the advice of this person, given at a council of war, Cumberland resolved to follow the Highlanders to the north, and not leave the country till he had disabled them for any further hostilities.

Inverness was at this time possessed by about two thousand loyal Highlanders, who had been associated into companies under the command of the Earl of Loudoun. Charles, who led the main body of his army by the Highland road, resolved to wait for the arrival of the other division before giving himself any trouble about this hostile party. He lodged in Moy Castle, near Inverness; and, not apprehending any danger, permitted his men to straggle about the country. While in this security, the Earl of Loudoun formed a design of taking him by surprise. A large party was led by night towards Moy, and, if his lordship's intentions had not been betrayed, there can be little doubt that he would have possessed himself of the Prince's person. Lady Macintosh, who entertained Charles, learned almost at the last hour that a surprise was intended, and sent out a blacksmith with one or two other persons, to reconnoitre. These individuals finding that the royalists were approaching the house, arranged themselves at some little distance along the enclosures, fired their pieces, and called out such words of command as the officers of a large party would have given to their men. The approaching party immediately fled back to Inverness, as if a

superior force had been at their heels, and did great injury to each other in their haste. Charles did not learn what had taken place till he awoke next morning. He immediately led forward a strong party to Inverness, and caused Lord Loudoun to take refuge with his defeated militia on the other side of the Bewly Firth. Ultimately, this band of loyalists dispersed without doing any good to the government, except in capturing some treasure sent by the King of France to Prince Charles, which happened to be driven ashore in Tongue Bay.

The two columns of the insurgent army were now joined at Inverness, which they proposed to make their head quarters for some time. On the other hand, the Duke of Cumberland left the Hessians at Perth, to guard the passes into the low country, and then established himself with the English troops at Aberdeen, in order to take the first opportunity afforded by the weather of advancing to fight Prince Charles. During the months of February and March, the Highlanders employed themselves in besieging the government forts, of which, however, they reduced only two, Fort George and Fort Augustus. Lord George Murray also performed a very remarkable exploit, in surprising one night about thirty posts of the enemy in Atholl; after which he laid siege to Blair Castle, but without success.

In the estimation of all reflecting persons, the insurrection was now considered hopeless. The Highlanders were at present opposed by such a body of troops as to place the chance of ultimate triumph out

of the question ; nor did even the Prince suppose that he could now make any great way towards his object, without assistance on a large scale from France, or unless the English troops, as he fondly hoped, should refuse to fight against him.

It was therefore solely with these views that, when the Duke of Cumberland advanced towards Inverness, he resolved to give him battle. The English army crossed the Spey on the 12th of April, and beat back the advanced posts of the insurgents. On the 14th, they encamped at Nairn, about sixteen English miles from Inverness ; and Prince Charles, on the same day, drew up his troops on Culloden Moor, for the purpose of protecting his head-quarters. Many of the Highlanders were at this time absent, or were hurrying forward to Inverness, and the remainder had of late suffered considerably through scarcity of provisions. Charles therefore had only five or six thousand men, in rather poor condition, to present against nine thousand regular and well-fed troops, many of whom were veterans from Flanders. It occurred to him, in these circumstances, that a surprise ought to be attempted. The 15th being the birth-day of the Duke of Cumberland, was spent by the English army in repose, and a certain degree of conviviality prevailed at night. The Prince advanced at midnight by secret ways, and would have accomplished his purpose, if the men could have kept together, or marched with sufficient speed. Unfortunately, the morning dawned when they were within two or three miles of the camp, and the enterprise was given up. The men, of course,

returned much fatigued, and they had obtained neither rest nor refreshment when the enemy approached to offer them battle.

About midday on the 16th, the Highlanders were drawn up in two lines on the open moor, in order to receive this much superior host, which was sufficiently numerous to be formed into three lines, with flanks composed of cavalry, and eight pieces of artillery in front. The arrangement and discipline of the royal troops were now calculated in a particular manner for sustaining the shock of the Highland onset, which, on all former occasions, had proved so fatal to the English regiments. The men were also more confident in their royal commander than they had been in either Cope or Hawley. It might have been obvious to any soldiers less enthusiastic than Prince Charles and the Highland chiefs, that they could have no chance of success in receiving such a powerful antagonist on level ground.

On arriving within the proper distance, the English artillery opened a severe fire upon the insurgents, who answered by firing their own cannon, but without any corresponding effect. At length, unable to be restrained any longer to a position, the right wing of the Highlanders, composed of the Camerons, Stuarts, and Macleans, burst forward in their usual furious manner, and, after discharging and throwing away their pieces, attacked the left wing of the enemy sword in hand. One English regiment was broken by this charge, but the second line received their assailants with so severe a fire as to drive them back. While

this was passing, the left wing of the Highlanders, composed of the clan Macdonald, refused to go forward, on account of their having been displaced from the position to which they thought they had a right. The only other clan that attacked the enemy in a body, was the Macintoshes, who, though never before engaged, and although their chief had taken arms on behalf of the government, conducted themselves with the most devoted bravery. These partial efforts, however, made little impression upon the dense and well-supported lines of the Duke of Cumberland, who, while the insurgents were pausing in despair of all further exertion, caused the Argyle regiment of loyal Highlanders to break down a park wall which protected their right, so as to admit a charge of horse in that quarter. Thus baffled in front and attacked in flank, the Highlanders began to retire in considerable parties from the field. The Macdonalds still hesitated, notwithstanding that one of their chieftains, the Laird of Keppoch, rushed forward by himself, a voluntary sacrifice for their misconduct. On learning that the right wing had been repulsed, they retired upon the second line, which was endeavouring to meet the attack of the dragoons. Such of the insurgent army as had not fled, now formed a confused mass on the position of the second line, which Gordon of Abbachie was endeavouring to protect on the right, while the French piquets defended it on the left. The Prince was entreated by Lord Elcho to put himself at the head of this force; but another of his officers, with more prudence, forced him away from

the field. The Duke of Cumberland was now beginning to take measures for attacking the remainder of the Highland army, which he would soon have surrounded and cut in pieces, if they had not retired in time. The French auxiliaries retreated to Inverness, where they surrendered as prisoners of war. One or two bodies of Highlanders went off quite deliberately, with their pipes playing. Others were hotly pursued by parties of the English dragoons, who cut them down without mercy.

The Duke had thus achieved a complete victory, although caution prevented him from taking that advantage of it which was certainly in his power. About three hundred of his men were slain and wounded, while the loss on the other side could not be less than three times that number, including some of the most important men. Immediately after the victory, the Duke gave orders for his chaplain to perform the morning service of the day, which, however, involved a psalm so strikingly allusive to the circumstances in which he and his family and the army in general stood at this moment in regard to the Jacobite party, that it was found necessary to substitute another service.*

* The psalm referred to is the 79th, being the first of the morning service for the 16th day of the month. For the convenience of the reader, it is here subjoined :

“ 1. O God, the heathen are come into thine inheritance : thy holy temple have they defiled : they have laid Jerusalem on heaps.

“ 2. The dead bodies of thy servants have they given to

The Duke afterwards signalised his victory by all the cruelties so strongly painted in that part of Scrip-

be meat unto the fowls of the heaven, the flesh of thy saints unto the beasts of the earth.

“ 3. Their blood have they shed like water round about Jerusalem : and there was none to bury them.

“ 4. We are become a reproach to our neighbours, a scorn and derision to them that are round about us.

“ 5. How long, Lord ; wilt thou be angry for ever ? shall thy jealousy burn like fire ?

“ 6. Pour out thy wrath upon the heathen that have not known thee, and upon the kingdoms that have not called upon thy name.

“ 7. For they have devoured Jacob, and laid waste his dwelling-place.

“ 8. O remember not against us former iniquities : let thy tender mercies speedily prevent us : for we are brought very low.

“ 9. Help us, O God of our salvation, for the glory of thy name : and deliver us, and purge away our sins, for thy name's sake.

“ 10. Wherefore should the heathen say, Where is their God ? let him be known among the heathen in our sight by the revenging of the blood of thy servants which is shed.

“ 11. Let the sighing of the prisoner come before thee : according to the greatness of thy power preserve thou those that are appointed to die :

“ 12. And render unto our neighbours sevenfold into their bosom, their reproach wherewith they have reproached thee, O Lord :

“ 13. So we, thy people and sheep of thy pasture, will give thee thanks for ever : we will show forth thy praise to all generations.”

ture. Instead of attending to the wounded, as the Highlanders had done after their victories, he caused them to be all butchered next day in cold blood. He then marched into the country occupied by the hostile clans, and sent out parties in all directions to seize their persons and property. Under his immediate direction, a tract of country extending about a hundred miles in every direction, was completely laid waste, the houses burnt, the men slain, and the women and children left to starve. When fully sated with vengeance, he returned to London, where he received the thanks of Parliament for suppressing the insurrection, without the least allusion to his severity. Posterity, however, has execrated the name of this brutal prince, who was ever after known both in England and in Scotland by the epithet of "the butcher."

Prince Charles, having cleared himself of all except a few attendants, fled towards the western coast of Inverness-shire, where he embarked, on the 24th, on board a small boat, and, after encountering a severe tempest, he landed next day in Benbecula, one of the remoter Hebrides. It was his wish to proceed to Stornoway, where he hoped to fall in with a vessel which might convey him to France. After a very dangerous voyage, he reached that port, but was obliged by the hostile appearance of the people to give up his design. He then made another long and dangerous voyage to South Uist, where he was sheltered for some weeks by the Clanranald family in a very lonely and miserable hut. The soldiery and militia having at length obtained some information about his

concealment, beset the island in great numbers, and he only escaped by the assistance of a young lady, called Flora Macdonald, who dressed him in female attire, and made him pass for her servant. He landed with his protectress in Skye, and, then parting with her, took refuge in the island of Rasay, which had been laid waste by the military, on account of its proprietor having been in the insurgent army. After incredible hardships he again landed in Skye, whence he returned to the mainland of Inverness-shire. A close line of posts was drawn across that part of the country, but he crossed it by a peculiar stratagem ; and the next place where he found shelter was in the cave of a gang of robbers. These men kept him for three weeks, being too well affected to his cause to betray him, notwithstanding that the sum of thirty thousand pounds might have been thereby obtained. Finally, he was sheltered for some weeks in a curious place of concealment, called the Cage, from its being perched among lofty rocks, and thence he was at length conveyed on board a vessel, which carried him back to France. From the 16th of April, when he had parted with his vanquished army at Culloden, to the 19th of September, when he thus left the country, he had spent five months in wandering and hiding, his health exposed to severer hardships than what usually befall the most wretched of human beings, and his life entrusted to many successive parties of poor and even infamous men ; yet he experienced no bodily illness all the time, and no individual, out of the numbers whom he trusted, seems to have ever felt the tempta-

tion of giving him up to the government. He was favourably entertained at the French court till the peace of 1748, when Louis XV. had to send him out of the country, in compliance with a stipulation exacted by the British negociators.

In order to strike terror into the Jacobite party, the government deemed it necessary to put a great number of its prisoners to death as traitors. Nine individuals of the Manchester regiment were executed, on the 30th of July, at Kennington Common. On the 18th of August, the Earl of Kilmarnock and Lord Balmerino were beheaded on Tower-hill. A few days afterwards, three of the Scottish officers taken at Carlisle, were executed in the usual barbarous manner. Other five suffered on the 28th of November. About the same time, several hundred prisoners were conducted from Scotland to York and Carlisle, in order that they might experience the impartiality of an English jury. Out of ninety-one condemned at Carlisle, thirty-three were put to death; while at York twenty-two suffered in like manner. A gentleman named Ratcliffe, brother to the Earl of Derwentwater (who was executed in 1716), being taken on board a French vessel coming to Scotland, was beheaded on his former sentence, thirty years after committing the offence for which that sentence was passed. The whole of these unfortunate persons, excepting Lord Kilmarnock, maintained their political sentiments on the scaffold, and were evidently inspired with all the feelings of martyrs. They were also considered in that light by all the individuals throughout the country, who con-

tinued to profess Jacobite principles ; by which it is evident that the exploded cause of a tyrant may have its martyrs, as well as the cause of liberty in its earliest struggles ; nor can it be said with certainty that there is less of a righteous spirit in the one case than in the other. The last victim was Lord Lovat, who, having betrayed both parties, was pitied by neither, although, having passed the eightieth year of his age, he might have been expected to excite the greatest commiseration of all. An act was soon after passed, granting pardon to all who had interested themselves in the cause of the Stuarts, excepting about eighty individuals.

CHAPTER XII.

SEVEN YEARS' WAR.—AMERICAN WAR.

To Scotland the immediate consequences of the Rebellion were a temporary oppression by the English soldiery, and the ruin of many noble and respectable families. Its remoter consequences were quite of an opposite character. The attention of the government was now most effectually roused to the condition of this part of Great Britain, if not in the hope of rendering it positively useful to the general interest, at least with the view of preventing it from doing any harm. It was seen by the English that, though the Scotch were poor, idle, and repulsive in almost every point of view, yet they were able, in the hands of a pretender to the crown, to do infinite injury to the richer country which lay exposed beside them, if not to produce a complete revolution in the state. They therefore found it necessary to devise some means by which Scotland might be put into a fair way of equalising itself in wealth and civilization with England; an object thought to have been secured by the Union, but which had hitherto been found as far from reality as ever.

The measures adopted were of a decisive, and somewhat oppressive character. A new act was passed for the more effectually disarming the Highlanders, and another for abolishing their use of tartan clothes, which, it was rightly supposed, had a great effect in keeping up their warlike spirit. When deprived of his arms, and obliged to wear Lowland apparel, the mountaineer lost the means of awakening those romantic associations which were, in reality, the sources of his political prejudices. He sunk at once from the Celtic warrior into the peaceful Saxon peasant; and he is no more heard of in an offensive character. But this, in itself, was not enough to reduce the country to regular laws. It was necessary also to break the feudal tenures, by which tenants were called upon to attend their landlords in war, and also to abolish the judicial powers of those landlords. For this purpose two Acts of Parliament were passed in the year 1748. One took away the hereditary sheriffships and other jurisdictions of the nobility and gentry, so as to render the king in Scotland, as well as in England, the fountain of all law and justice. In terms of this statute, sums of money were given in compensation for these privileges, amounting in all to a hundred and fifty-two thousand pounds. The other Act abolished what was called the tenure of wardholdings, that is, the holding of lands upon the condition of going out to war whenever the superior desired. Tenants and the common people in general were thus for the first time in Scotland rendered independent of their landlords, or of the great men on whose property they might chance to

live. In fact, they now for the first time became free citizens.

The Rebellion was also very fortunate for Scotland, in so far as, by setting the claims of the Stuarts for ever at rest, it permitted the minds of the people to settle down in tranquil industry under the Brunswick sovereigns. An intelligent person writing in 1752,* thus describes the impulse which had already been communicated to the national prosperity: "Since the year 1746, a most surprising revolution has happened in the affairs of this country. The whole system of our trade, husbandry, and manufactures, which had hitherto proceeded by slow degrees, now began to advance with such a rapid and general progression, as almost exceeds the bounds of probability. It is no longer the detached efforts of Aberdeen, of Glasgow, of Dumfries, or any other single town; but it is the united force of the whole nation, which seems at length to be exerting itself. Husbandry, manufactures, general commerce, and the increase of useful people, are become the objects of universal attention.†

* Gilbert Elliot, of Minto.—Scots' Magazine, 1752.

† This description appears to be perfectly correct. During the interval between the two rebellions, nothing was done but by detached and ill-supported efforts. Examples of superior husbandry were set by Mr. Cockburn of Ormiston, the Earl of Stair, and one or two other persons; but it was only now that they began to be generally followed. A Board of Trustees had been instituted in 1727, by parliamentary enactment, for the purpose of encouraging native manufactures; but for a considerable time it was very tar-

Various reasons have been assigned for so surprising a progress in the course of a few years. The money brought into this country in consequence of the rebellion, the price paid for our jurisdictions, and some other circumstances of the same kind, have no doubt had their weight ; but they are by no means causes adequate to so general and so sudden an effect. The uncommon attention which the legislature has given, for these six years past, to the improvement of this country, and the countenance and encouragement which every kind of industry has met with from our nobility and gentlemen of fortune, seem to afford us a

dily and inefficiently acted upon, insomuch that the linen stamped within the first five ensuing years amounted only to 662,938*l*. To show the subsequent increase, it may be mentioned, that during the five years ending in 1742, linen to the value of 949,221*l*. was stamped in Scotland, and during the five preceding 1751, to no less than 1,607,680*l*.

During the interval between 1746 and 1752, the following companies were established for carrying on manufactures and trade in Scotland, where formerly such associations were hardly known : the British Linen Company, a Rope and Sail-cloth Manufactory, an Iron and Carpentry Manufactory, a Whalefishing Company, a Soap Work, a Glass Company, a Sugar Work, and a Gold-lace Manufactory. While the whisky distilled in Edinburgh during the seven years before 1745 amounted only to 185,997 English gallons, that distilled during the ensuing seven years amounted to 723,150 gallons. The tonnage of Leith, which, in 1692, was only 1702 tons, and, in 1744, no more than 2285, was, in 1752, 5703 tons. This was also the era of a trade between Leith and the West Indies.

more satisfactory solution of this question. Of the many excellent laws which have been lately made with that view, the good effects have already begun to be experienced. The great spring, however, which has set the whole in motion, is that spirit, liberality, and application, with which our nobility and landed gentlemen have of late engaged in every useful project. They are the chief adventurers in our fisheries, manufactures, and trading companies. Animated by their example, persons of every rank and profession have caught the same spirit." This is so far true, that the younger sons of many of the Scottish gentry at this time exhibited themselves in the whimsical character of shopkeepers and artizans:

The most odious feature of the times under notice, was the persecution to which persons of the Catholic and episcopal persuasions were subjected. The regular standing law against the former class of worshippers declared them incapable of succeeding to heritable property; any one who performed or heard mass could be punished with death, and not to disclaim their religion upon oath, when called upon to do so, subjected them to banishment. The episcopal clergy, who, it must be recollected, were exactly the same as the clergy of the established church in England, were subjected to penalties less severe in words, but far more severe in execution. If they failed to profess their allegiance to the reigning monarch, which, conscientiously, they could not do, as all of them adhered to the dynasty which had been displaced with themselves, they could be banished for life. Even so lately as 1755, one of

them experienced this severe punishment for a mere offence of opinion. Nor does there seem to have been any class of the people generous enough to stand up against this monstrous persecution. The people seem to have rather delighted in these violations of all abstract justice, which exactly met their own religious prejudices. We also find at this period exertions of arbitrary authority, which indicate the imperfect notions as yet prevalent respecting the liberty of the subject. For instance, in 1755, when an impressment of seamen was going on in Edinburgh, a man who had been put into the guard-house for *swearing*, was sent on board the tender; nor would the judges, to whom application was made on his behalf, order him to be restored to liberty.

It was to the Lord Chancellor Hardwicke that Scotland was indebted for the enlightened acts which first placed her in a condition of nominal freedom. She was now indebted to another English statesman, the illustrious Earl of Chatham, for some advantages of almost equal value. The employment of the Highlanders in the royal army was a measure suggested some years before the Rebellion, as almost sufficient in itself to render the people good subjects. It was impossible, however, for the narrow minds then reigning, to conceive how an enemy was to be made less dangerous by being taken into their bosom. Accordingly, with the exception of a police regiment which had been raised about the year 1729, and afterwards, by no fair means, taken into the line, hardly any effort was ever made to recruit the British army from that

quarter of the country. Chatham, however, saw the case in its true light. He perceived that the Highlanders were simply a warlike race, retaining, it is true, some prepossessions, but still ready in a great measure to follow any master who would give them the kind of employment they desired. On the breaking out of the war with France in 1756, he judged that the hardy nature of the mountaineers fitted them in a peculiar manner for carrying on the contest with the French colonies in North America. Accordingly, two new regiments, *Montgomery's* and *Fraser's*, were raised within the Highland frontier, besides seven hundred men, who were added to the regiment already existing; in all nearly three thousand soldiers, of the very first order in point of personal strength. These men, dressed in their national garb, and retaining part of their usual weapons, cheerfully embarked for America, and, on their landing at New York, were trained to bush-fighting and sharp-shooting, for which their previous habits had peculiarly fitted them. Being associated with the Indian auxiliaries, who hailed them as brothers, they distinguished themselves greatly in the brilliant campaign of 1758. At the unfortunate attack on Ticonderoga, the old Highland regiment, or 42nd, rushed forward with desperate valour, and was the only part of the British army which gained the top of the walls. It was not till half of the men and two-thirds of the officers had fallen, that they could be prevailed upon, even by the orders of the commander-in-chief, to retire. The King acknowledged their gallantry on this occasion by giving them the

title of the *Royal Highlanders*. At the same time, Fraser's regiment distinguished itself at the taking of Cape Breton and Louisburg; and *Montgomery's* at the arduous assault upon Fort du Quesne. In 1759 a second battalion of the 42nd was raised in the Highlands, and being sent to the West Indies, conducted itself in the most creditable manner at the attacks on Martinique and Guadaloupe. The two battalions afterwards joined in North America, and, with Fraser's Highlanders, gained immortal laurels on the Heights of Abraham (September 12, 1759), where General Wolfe, though himself mortally wounded, gained a complete victory over the French army under Montcalm, and paved the way for the reduction of the whole colony. The services of the Highlanders as sharp-shooters, and in charging the enemy sword in hand, were on this occasion very conspicuous. Throughout the whole campaign they had displayed a hardy valour above what is generally manifested by soldiers, and which could only be traced to their national spirit. It was also remarkable that they were the soberest and the most correct in conduct of all the regiments there on service. The government was so much pleased with their behaviour as to order two other regiments to be raised in 1759. These were denominated *Keith's* and *Campbell's* regiments, from the names of their chief officers. With hardly any regular discipline, they were precipitated into the war then carried on in Germany; and such was the effect of their warlike habits and ardent national spirit, that they performed several brilliant actions in a manner that com-

manded general admiration. Another regiment, called *Johnstone's*, was raised in 1760, and was also sent to Germany. In the same year one was raised among the dependents of the Gordon family, and sent to the East Indies, where it aided materially in gaining the splendid victory of Baxar. It is surprising to know that a great number of both the officers and privates of these regiments, had fought against the House of Brunswick in 1745: one of the corps was raised and commanded by Simon Fraser, son of Lord Lovat, and who had led out his father's clan in favour of Prince Charles.

The truth is, a more generous policy had reconciled the Highlanders to a dynasty which they formerly detested; and this was more particularly apparent after the year 1760, when George II. died, and was succeeded by the first Briton of his family, George III. Sometimes there was a ludicrous contest in the minds of these mountaineers respecting allegiance. Ancient recollection devoted them to the Stuarts, but immediate gratitude bound them to the House of Brunswick. In general, the latter feeling predominated. In 1762 *Montgomery's* and the 42nd were sent to the West Indies, and war having been proclaimed against Spain, the British army and fleet were ordered to attack the Havannah, which formed the key of all the American possessions of that state. In the celebrated attack on the Moro, a fort protecting the city, the Highlanders distinguished themselves by their steady and determined courage, and after a siege of forty days, during which the army endured great hardships, the fort was

taken (July 30, 1762), after which the Havannah fell into the hands of the British, being a prize estimated at three millions of money. The Highlanders were then remanded to North America, where, even after the conclusion of the war in 1763, they proved of immense service in checking the outrages of the Indians, who, having been entrusted with weapons, now turned them against their former friends. At the celebrated affair of Bushy Run, where a small parcel of troops with difficulty protected themselves from an immense band of these savages, the Highlanders were found particularly useful, being able to compete with the enemy in nearly their own style of warfare. At length, after a series of uncommonly severe services in an extensive and difficult country, they were embarked for Ireland. The 42nd did not return to their native country till 1775, when it had been absent no less than thirty-two years. According to their historian, General Stewart, the veterans "leapt ashore with enthusiasm, kissing the earth, and holding it up in handfuls."

The sterling worth of these Highland regiments had in the mean time made a deep impression at home. The Earl of Chatham, alluding to the subject in parliament, found himself justified in using the following language: "I sought for merit where it was to be found; it is my boast that I was the first minister who looked for it and found it in the mountains of the north. I called it forth, and drew into your service a hardy and intrepid race of men, who, when left by your jealousy, became a prey to the artifices of your

enemies, and in the war before the last, had gone nigh to overturn the state. These men in the last war were brought to combat on your side ; they served with fidelity, as they fought with valour, and conquered for you in every part of the world."

The distinct peculiarity of the Highland regiments, in name, as well as in dress and manners, is apt to call attention exclusively to those corps alone, while the military exertions of other Scotsmen are overlooked. It must be mentioned, however, that the Lowlands also contributed a great number of men to the British army, and also to the navy, during this war. Previous to July, 1760, it was calculated that thirty-three thousand men had been raised in Scotland for service by sea and land, of whom a large majority must have been drawn from the southern portion of the kingdom. As these, however, were mixed indiscriminately with the English and Irish, their military services procured no particular distinction for the country.

During this war, the French navy and privateers did much mischief to the British shipping, not only on the coast of America and in the open sea, but also on our own shores. In Spring, 1758, the *Belleisle*, a privateer of 44 guns, commanded by Monsieur Thurot, haunted the east coast of Scotland, capturing all the merchant vessels that fell in her way. In May two British war vessels of inferior strength sailed from Leith, for the purpose of seeking out the *Belleisle*. They encountered her off Red Head, on the coast of Forfarshire, and a severe action ensued, which ended,

however, in the two British vessels being left disabled. After this, Monsieur Thurot was received with great distinction by the French king, who entrusted him with a fleet of four vessels, besides the Belleisle, now raised into the character of a government ship ; all of which were destined to annoy the coasts of Britain. Thurot, who was in reality a brave and humane officer, sailed early in 1760 for the coast of Scotland, of which country his parents were natives. On the 10th of February his ships were descried off the island of Islay, in Argyleshire, and as they seemed to be in distress, and had the appearance of British vessels, two gentlemen of the country went off in a boat to render assistance. Being taken on board, they soon discovered the real character of the strange vessels, which they nevertheless were compelled to steer into the bay of Arros, in order that the ships might be refitted. The French officers in general were anxious to destroy the country ; but Thurot would not listen to such a proposal, it being contrary, he said, to the instructions which he had received from the King. While the vessels were undergoing repairs, about two hundred French soldiers were sent ashore for provisions, of which they stood in great need. Mr. Campbell of Ardmore was compelled to supply them with forty-eight bullocks, for which he was paid partly in gold, and partly in a bill on the royal banker at Paris. From the country-people they received other articles of provision, for all of which payment was regularly made, such being the strict orders of the commander. Intelligence of this formidable descent did not reach

Edinburgh for some days. In a country which has happily been so long a stranger to war, it occasioned some consternation; but troops, with artillery, were immediately dispatched to the west coast, in order to meet the French. Long before these arrived, Thurot had weighed anchor, and, after sweeping through the Firth of Clyde, had stood over to Ireland, where he made a descent with about one thousand men at Carrickfergus. That town, with its castle, surrendered after a brave resistance, the garrison being permitted to remain, in exchange for an equal number of French prisoners, who were to be sent home as soon as transports could be provided. The French kept possession of Carrickfergus from the 21st to the 24th of February; they then went back to their ships, which immediately left the bay. Commodore Elliot, of the Scottish family of Minto, had now received information of the attack on Carrickfergus. He immediately sailed from Kinsale, in his own vessel, the *Æolus*, (32 guns), along with the *Pallas* and the *Brilliant* (of 36 guns each). On the 28th, he got sight of the enemy, and, after a smart chase, came up with him, near the Isle of Man. A fight ensued, and lasted for an hour and a half, when the three French vessels struck their colours, their brave commander being killed, along with a great number of his men. This affair was in itself of little consequence; but as an invasion of British ground was a very uncommon event, and as the concluding action took place in sight of both the Scottish and Irish shores, it made a great impression on the public mind, and was long remembered in popular

song and tradition. The generosity displayed by M. Thurot, in his transactions on the Scottish coast, caused his death to be much lamented, more especially as it took place ten minutes after he had given orders to strike, these orders not being obeyed from the difficulty of reaching the colours in the midst of such a severe fire.

The commencement of the reign of George III. in 1760 was the era of a great improvement in the condition of Scotland. All animosities respecting the succession were now at rest ; the people were beginning to feel the good effects of trade and industry ; and with wealth came refinement of manners and a more general diffusion of the comforts of life. It was a fortunate event for Scotland that the King, soon after his accession, placed a Scottish nobleman at the head of his ministry. This was the Earl of Bute, a most accomplished person, who had been his Majesty's preceptor. Lord Bute had communicated a favourable impression of the Scottish nation to George III. ; and even the Jacobite families who had fought against the House of Brunswick were treated with kindness by the young monarch. Partly by this good feeling on the part of the King, and partly by the immediate influence of the Minister, the Scottish nation acquired that share of general consideration and public employment to which it was entitled. This, no doubt, was at the expense of much rancorous and unworthy feeling on the part of the English, or rather of a party of that nation, led by demagogues, among whom the celebrated Wilkes was the chief.

. Nevertheless, even during the brief term of the Bute administration, much good was done to Scotland. The city of Glasgow had now attained the character of an emporium for the colonial trade, and in particular had engrossed nearly the whole import of tobacco, not only for Britain but for Europe. The business of banking, hitherto confined to two establishments in Edinburgh, was now beginning to be practised in all the second-rate towns in the kingdom. In almost every considerable town, new manufactories were rising and prospering. The north every year sent immense herds of cattle to the English market, no fewer than nineteen hundred being observed to pass Berwick Bridge in one day.* At Edinburgh there existed a Society for encouraging the arts, sciences, agriculture, and commerce, which in one year distributed a hundred and twenty premiums. Another association, comprehending many of the distinguished men of the country, had in view the cultivation of English literature, and the introduction of an English pronunciation into Scotland. Other institutions were now founded for promoting elegant arts. An academy was set up at Glasgow by two printers, for teaching the arts of drawing, painting, and engraving. About the same time the first public school for teaching any thing beyond classical literature was established at Perth; it was styled an academy, and designed to give instructions in mathematics, natural history, drawing, and other branches of knowledge.

* September 1766.

In literature, the fame of Scotland was allowed by foreigners to stand at this time higher than that of England itself. Hume, Robertson, and Blair, three natives of Scotland, were the authors of various works, in which a far more classical style of language was employed, than what was generally written in England. This could only be the result of a high cultivation of the mental powers; for, as the colloquial language of these authors was not English, they must have required to translate every idea into something like a foreign tongue, before committing it to paper. At the same time, the University of Edinburgh was beginning to attract great numbers of students from all parts of the world, on account of the high celebrity of its medical teachers. Anatomy had long been taught with distinction by two professors named Monro; and the chair of physic was now filled by the famous Cullen. Chemistry was taught by Dr. Black, whose discoveries revolutionised the whole system of that science. It is also to be mentioned that, by the liberality of George the Third, Dr. Blair was endowed in a class for rhetoric and English composition; a study now attracting great attention in the country. Under the influence of increasing wealth and improving taste, a grand design was formed for embellishing the capital. It had hitherto been a confined and antique town, rather calculated for defence in a rude, than convenience in a civilized age. It now began to expand over the adjacent plains, and, as the suddenness of the increase allowed regular plans to be adopted, while the neighbouring quarries of pure sand-

stone suggested architectural ideas to even the homeliest minds, the new streets became in a short time remarkable for their elegance. It must also be mentioned that, while these designs were in progress, the navigation of the two sides of the island was connected by means of the Forth and Clyde Canal.

The only apparent drawback to the happiness of the country at this period was the emigration of vast numbers of the Highlanders to America. In former days, a numerous tenantry was of great importance to the proprietors in that district of the country ; for the most of these gentlemen, being attached to the House of Stuart, grounded their consequence entirely on the number of men they could bring into the field for the purpose of altering the succession. But now, when the chiefs were convinced of the hopelessness of all such attempts, they became anxious to turn their estates to account in the same manner as other landlords. The rugged nature of the country unfitted it for arable purposes on a proper scale, but seemed to qualify it for pastoral forms. Large tracts, therefore, which had once supported hundreds of armed retainers, were now let to sheep-farmers, chiefly from the south of Scotland, and the former tenantry were either compelled to emigrate or to remain in a state of abject poverty. Ever since the seven years' war, which first made the Highlanders acquainted with America, emigration had been going on to a considerable extent ; but it was not till the year 1770 that it became conspicuous. The people at that time were literally emigrating in thousands ; in so much that they

filled various large districts in America, without the admixture of any other settlers. The loss of so many hardy and brave men to the country was generally regretted by persons of liberal views, more especially as it was attended with much pain to the Highlanders themselves, a class of people remarkable for attachment to their native country.

It was generally thought that the ungenerous though necessary expedient of expelling so many human beings for the purpose of substituting sheep, would deprive the landlords of much of their original influence over those who remained. It appeared, however, at the commencement of the American war in 1775, that the devotion of the people, even to those superiors who were treating them so severely, was not diminished. The government, in preparing for their unfortunate contest with the colonies, looked once more to the Highlands for the soldiery best fitted to endure such a warfare. General Fraser, to whom his father's estates were now restored, found no difficulty in raising two thousand three hundred men, who were formed into the 71st regiment, and embarked in April 1776 for America. In this body, no fewer than six of the officers were chiefs of clans. They were accompanied by the forty-second regiment, which had just been largely recruited in the Highlands. In August, the month after they landed, they were all on active duty, and conducted themselves with that self-possession and promptitude which is always remarked in the first movements of a Highland soldiery, being the result of their previous habits.

In 1778, the 74th and 76th regiments were raised in the Highlands and Western Isles, and also transported to America. The whole of these corps, forming the most valuable part of the British army, served throughout the arduous campaign of Lord Cornwallis, till the surrender of the troops at Yorktown (October 1781), when the war terminated with the triumph of the American arms. The Highlanders, along with their companions, were kept prisoners till the peace, after which most of them returned home, and were discharged. It is also to be mentioned that a regiment of two large battalions was raised among the emigrated Highlanders, and served very meritoriously in many harassing enterprises. This, however, is not the full account of the services of the Highlanders. Other five regiments were raised in the north during the time of the American war, two of which served in Ireland, while the other three were taken to the East Indies, and opposed to the barbarian forces of Hyder Ali, a native prince, who gave much disturbance to that part of the possessions of Great Britain. The general character of these soldiers was excellent. They were steady, moral men, totally above a mean action, and rather, indeed, following war from a romantic and elevated feeling in their own minds, than from the causes which send the most recruits into the army. It rarely happened that a Highland soldier was punished, and even on those rare occasions, it was scarcely ever found to be for a breach of moral law, but generally for some act of insubordination arising out of their peculiar national habits. It was never

considered any drawback to the excellent character of these men, that three of the regiments mutinied before leaving the country. In 1778, a regiment raised by Lord Seaforth* was lying at Edinburgh, in order to embark for the East Indies. The men found themselves deceived in some of the engagements under which they had been enlisted, and, conceiving that they might be still further betrayed, they marched off from their quarters in a body, with bagpipes playing, and two plaids fixed on poles instead of colours, and pitched themselves on the top of Arthur's seat, a lofty hill in the neighbourhood of Edinburgh. Here they remained for several days and nights, supplied with provisions and covering by the humane citizens, till a number of forces were collected to overawe them. The Earl of Dunmore then entered into a negociation with them, and by solemnly engaging to satisfy all their complaints, induced them to return to obedience. No man was punished for this affair; nor was it necessary. The only individuals deserving punishment were the officers who had attempted to cheat them. Next year, the Macdonald or 76th regiment mutinied for similar reasons at Bruntisland, and in the same manner returned to duty, on their engagements being fulfilled. It is worthy of being recorded, that the money which they thus demanded as their right was never applied to their own use; they sent it all home to their friends in the Highlands. Indeed, there can be little doubt that the poor mountaineers only

* Now the 72nd.

acted in this firm manner through the impulse of one of the purest of human sentiments, filial piety, being anxious, in leaving the country, that those who had depended upon their industry should not be any worse provided for than they had calculated upon at their enlistment.

The period of the American war saw a considerable change in the political sentiments of all the British nations. So long as the throne was in danger from the Jacobites, the majority of the people had rallied round it with a feeling of undivided attachment, as their only safeguard from a more arbitrary species of government. The ministers were then in general of what is called the Whig party, that is, men who only supported the crown with a strict regard to the limits of its power, and who were always looking back to the Revolution of 1688 as an example never to be lost sight of. On the accession of George III. there was no longer any danger from the person called the Pretender, and the sovereign feeling quite at ease regarding his title, was not so anxious as his two predecessors had been to rule in a manner opposite to the system of the Stuarts. This was perhaps the more natural and justifiable, in so far as there now arose a kind of popular or democratic party, who endeavoured to supply the place of the Jacobites in raising tumults against the government. George III., surrounded by a Tory ministry, anxious to support the dignity of the crown, and opposed by not only this mean party, but by many of the Whigs, who had hitherto formed the ministries of the Brunswick sovereigns, might be said

in some measure to stand in the same ground as the Stuarts, though not presuming to avow any considerable part of their pretensions. This shows that in government, as in every thing else, moderation is only to be expected when there is a compulsory reason for it, and that kings, in general, exercise just as much power as their subjects will permit. There are even examples of a monarch acting on different principles in respect of two different nations of subjects, one of which was disposed to allow a more arbitrary kind of rule than the other.

The low character of Mr. Wilkes and other friends of liberty at this time, was perhaps greatly instrumental in raising the power of George III., for it caused most of the respectable people to rally round the throne, and to defend it with a less regard to the revolution principles on which it was founded, than what might have been desired by moderate persons. Hence, when the government resolved to reduce the colonies by force of arms, almost all whose voice was worth listening to, both in England and Scotland, approved of the resolution. The claims of the Americans were generally condemned, as arising from a factious and rebellious spirit; although few rational people now decry that they were perfectly reasonable, and that the mother country ought to have made the required concessions. We may thus observe of how much importance it is to the people themselves, that the checking force which they wish to impose upon the government should not be of a violent or ignoble character, as every symptom of that kind in the opposition pr

duces an exactly corresponding rigour in the party opposed, with a more devoted feeling of attachment in its supporters.

In July 1777, several American privateers appeared on the western coast of Scotland, and took a few merchant vessels about the mouth of the Clyde. For the protection of trade, two small vessels were fitted out at Greenock with twelve or fourteen guns each, and sent in search of the enemy. The inhabitants of Ayr also formed themselves into a militia for the defence of the coast, in case of any descent being attempted. The Greenock vessels returned some days after, without having encountered any of the American ships. Next year the celebrated Paul Jones made a descent from one of these privateers. This adventurer was a native of Scotland, but had entered the American service. He appeared on the coast of Britain with a vessel of twenty guns, and during the night of the 22nd of April made a secret approach to the harbour of Whitehaven, where he set fire to several vessels. The town and shipping would alike have been consumed but for the humane treachery of one of his men, who deserted to give warning to the inhabitants. Next forenoon, the vessel of Paul Jones appeared off Kirkcudbright, and a party, not commanded by him, went ashore, and plundered the house of the Earl of Selkirk. In August 1779, Jones re-appeared on the British coast, in a vessel of forty guns, accompanied by five vessels of inferior strength, and having on board altogether about two thousand men. His design was to destroy the shipping in the British har-

bours, by way of retallating the severities exercised by the British navy upon the American shores. After insulting the Irish coast, he appeared (September 16) in the Firth of Forth, and threatened to set fire to Leith and Edinburgh. But fortunately for these towns, he was driven back by a strong westerly wind. On the 23rd, he encountered a British vessel, the *Serapis*, and, after a severe action, obliged her to strike her colours.

At the end of the year 1777, when the government was beginning to find some difficulty in carrying on the American contest, proposals were made among its friends over the whole empire to raise regiments by private subscription for service in the colonies. In Scotland, where there was less opposition to government than in England, and where the Highlanders in particular had transferred the whole of their enthusiastic loyalty to the reigning sovereign, a considerable force was raised in this manner. In the short space of three weeks, ten thousand pounds were subscribed at Glasgow, for the purpose of raising a regiment. At Edinburgh, another large sum was raised for a similar purpose, and throughout the whole country but one feeling seemed to prevail. It is to be remarked also, that though a great part of this money was voted by corporate bodies, in which perfect sincerity is not to be expected, there was also a large part which arose from spontaneous contribution; and, in many cases, besides the sum given by a public body, further sums were added by the individuals composing it. Altogether, nine regiments were raised

in Scotland in the spring of 1778, while only two volunteer corps could be raised throughout all England. It is the more necessary to point out these facts, as a nation, after the conclusion of an unfortunate or expensive war, generally blames its rulers for having entered it, when, in reality, the people were as much to blame as their rulers.

In the year 1778, an act of parliament was passed, relieving the Roman Catholics in England from some of the severe laws which had been enacted against them in a former age. In point of fact, these laws had been little acted upon for many years past, being so obnoxious to humane feeling, and at the same time so little called for by the peaceful character of this class of people, that an attempt to put them into full force could not have been tolerated; but, though the most of the people had no wish to see these laws executed, they viewed the matter in a less liberal light when it was proposed to abolish them altogether. They thought it expedient that the Catholics should still see the rod of the law hanging above them, to descend if they should show the least disposition to disturb the public tranquillity. It may be remarked that men will often think it right and proper to injure their fellow-creatures upon a large scale, when they would shrink from the least injury to an individual. Hence the majority of the British Protestants, a most enlightened and humane race of people, deemed it necessary that a certain class of their fellow-subjects should be unable to inherit the property of their fathers, and liable at any time to be banished upon the slightest

pretences, although perhaps not one of these Protestants personally knew a single Roman Catholic whom he thought worthy of such severe treatment. In Scotland, it may have been remarked, the spirit of freedom had all along referred chiefly to the supremacy of the Presbyterian religion; there was little of the genuine spirit of civil liberty either at this period, or for some years after. The people therefore were greatly alarmed at the prospect of a similar act being passed respecting the Catholics in Scotland. In this fear, the General Assembly discussed the propriety of declaring against the scheme prospectively, but did not pass any resolution to that effect. It always happens when the enlightened part of the community discuss political questions in a warm manner, that the mob takes up the argument in a still warmer tone, and blindly thinks to settle the matter by acts of violence. Towards the close of the year, a Catholic Relief Bill for Scotland was introduced into parliament, and immediately the Protestants all over the country held meetings for the purpose of opposing it. Almost all the inferior church judicatories in Scotland met and voted against the bill; and in nearly all classes of society it was the subject of vituperative language. On Sunday, the 13th of October, a few days after the synod of Glasgow had held an anti-Catholic meeting, a mob gathered round a humble dwelling-house in that city, where such of the inhabitants as professed the faith of Rome, held their modest and inoffensive meetings, to perform a worship as dear to them as the Presbyterian forms were to

their fellow-citizens. The worshippers, seeing their danger, endeavoured to escape, but were insulted and pelted in a most unmerciful manner. One gentleman was carried off in a chair, amidst the shouts and execrations of the rabble. A number of poor Highland women had their clothes torn off them; and when all had escaped, the mob went in a body through the streets, breathing vengeance against all papists, and profaning the Sabbath to a degree certainly never witnessed in Catholic countries. Notwithstanding this disgrace to the whole cause, meetings continued to be held, and addresses to be voted, against the Catholics; and on the 9th of February 1779, a solemn fast was held over the country, to avert the divine vengeance, which was anticipated as a proper consequence of such an attempt on the part of the legislature. Influenced by these proceedings among their superiors, the rabble attacked a house in Edinburgh where a Catholic Bishop resided, and which they suspected to contain a popish chapel. The magistrates were quickly on the spot with a military force; but, notwithstanding every effort, the mob set the building on fire, and reduced it to ashes. Next day, they attacked another house which was inhabited by a priest, and plundered it of every thing it contained. At night, they were with difficulty prevented from burning the house of Dr. Robertson, the celebrated historian, who had taken a part in public business in favour of the Catholics. The military, however, could not prevent them from plundering the shops and houses of several Catholic citizens. In Glasgow, a

few days thereafter, similar outrages took place, to the mortification of all the enlightened persons who opposed the bill. In short, the extraordinary spectacle was presented, of a nation raging in alarm and cruelty against a small scattered class of individuals, who had not offended in any respect for several ages, and, even if now combined in any shape whatever, could have been put down by a company of soldiers. It was found necessary by the government to announce, through the Scottish state officers, that the bill would not be passed against so strong an opposition. The popular alarm was by this means set to rest ; and next year the illiberality of the Scottish nation was forgotten in the infinitely more destructive riots which took place in London upon the same subject.

The progress of a liberal party in Scotland was very observable during the time of the American war. The events of that contest were so unfortunate for Great Britain, and the expense of carrying it on proved so great a burden to the nation, that a very general discontent began to prevail. In Ireland, a militia raised for national defence took advantage of the weakness of the government to demand some concessions in favour of their native country. Inspired by the same views, a few patriotic individuals endeavoured to obtain an act of parliament for embodying a militia of twenty-five thousand men in Scotland. This project failed ; but the support it met with proved the strong feeling which was entertained upon the subject. The subjects of parliamentary reform and reduction of the crown influence had already been agitated in parlia-

ment, and in a division on the latter point in April, 1780, seven Scottish members voted on the liberal side, which was looked upon as an extraordinary manifestation of feeling, considering how devoted the representatives of Scotland had always been to the reigning minister. In April, 1782, the Commissioners of Supply in the counties of Inverness, Moray, and Caithness, passed resolutions to concur with the other counties in abolishing the fictitious superiorities which entered so largely into the system of county elections. Previous to this period, the elections of representative peers had always been conducted at the pleasure of the minister for the time being, who only required to send a circular to the noble electors in order to get his own nominee appointed. Now, however, an attempt was made to shake off this odious kind of slavery. In July, 1782, the seat of a representative peer was contested by the Earl of Lauderdale and the Earl of Buchan, both of whom were men of liberal principles. The former, having obtained the support of the prime minister, carried his election by a majority of thirteen against eleven, and the Earl of Buchan then addressed a letter to the peerage at large, in which, after inveighing against the exertion of ministerial influence in such a case, he vowed never again to enter the walls where an election was taking place. "My fortune," he told them, "is small; but I am independent. I can live on the simple fare of my ancestors. I can prepare it, if necessary, in a helmet; and I can stir it about with my sword, the *name*, the origin, the emblem, and the charter of my family. I can

eat it, if fate commands me, in the field of battle, covered with dust, with wounds, but with honour; and it would sustain me in a cottage with the water of the brook—defeated, perhaps, but not subdued, by my enemies and the enemies of the liberties of my country. And even if that last resource of an independent spirit should fail, I could certainly die by necessity, as some have done in the same way by choice." Next year, a proposal for burgh-reform was agitated very generally in Scotland; and a considerable number of the burgh corporations petitioned parliament for an alteration of the system under which their successive officers were elected, pointing out that the burgesses should constitute the magistracies. These movements, though not attended with any immediate effect, show the progress which liberal opinions were now making in Scotland.

[illegible]

CHAPTER XIII.

FRENCH REVOLUTIONARY WAR.—POPULAR
MOVEMENTS.

THE American war was concluded in 1783, with the independence of the colonies. About a hundred millions had been spent in the unfortunate contest, which, after all, had entirely failed in accomplishing its object. The nation suffered severely under the exhaustion produced by this war, the effect of which was much increased by a failure of crops. The summer of 1782 was the worst that any living person could recollect, the sky being overspread nearly the whole time with a thick haze, which prevented the fruits of the earth from experiencing the influence of the sun. Nevertheless, the advancing prosperity of Scotland suffered hardly any check.

The Whig ministry, which had been called in to settle the peace, failed entirely to give satisfaction to the nation, and the King found it necessary to place

the celebrated Mr. Pitt at the head of affairs. In the new parliament called for the sake of this minister, it was found that no fewer than nineteen anti-ministerial members were returned from Scotland, while eight of the elections were contested ; a circumstance justly considered very remarkable, since it rarely happened that the country sent above four independent men to parliament. What further proves the advance of liberal principles, is the institution of a regular society in March 1784, for the purpose of obtaining a reform in the burgh-system, in other words, a reform in the mode of electing the electors of one branch of the national representatives. This association consisted of delegates from more than a half of the royal burghs in Scotland, and was in the highest degree respectable, both from the character of the gentlemen who composed it, and from the moderation of their sentiments. It was resolved by this body to meet once every year, and in the mean time to keep up a correspondence with the minority of the House of Commons, for the purpose of furthering their common objects. At the second meeting, in October 1785, it was stated that forty-nine out of the sixty-six royal burghs had acceded to the scheme of reform projected by the society. The delegates continued to meet every year till 1790 ; but Mr. Pitt, although himself favourable to a reform in parliament, found it necessary to repress all attempts of this kind as much as possible. Liberal principles now began to receive a strong impulse from the events that were taking place in France ; a coun-

try long subjected to the most rigorous despotism, but which at length had shaken off its chains, and was now forming for itself new institutions of a republican character. Yet, while one part of the British people rejoiced in these proceedings, and expressed a desire to imitate them, by far the larger portion beheld them with a considerable share of alarm. The efforts of the French took, from opposition, a violent and bloody character; monarchy began to be denounced as an institution hostile to the interests of mankind; and the chief revolutionists were at no pains to conceal that they had the most perfect contempt for religion. It speedily became obvious to all who reflected deeply, that no steps could be taken in Britain in correspondence with those taken in France, without endangering the whole fabric of government, and the peace and welfare of society. Hence the meetings and resolutions in favour of reform lost much of their respectable character, and were left to a set of hot-headed men, who did not conduct their business in the spirit which had formerly prevailed. In July 1792, a society was constituted under the title of Friends of the People, who, though they still professed to use only legal and constitutional means, were generally considered as guilty of some imprudence in seeking to remedy a few slight faults of the constitution at a time when its whole existence was threatened. The government therefore found itself justified in the general sense of the community for a measure of repression, which, to say the least of it, was an act of severe persecution.

A young barrister named Muir, who distinguished himself at the meetings of the Friends of the People, was apprehended and tried (August 30, 1793) before the Justiciary Court for sedition. Although it was not pretended that this gentleman had aimed at more than a reform in parliament—although it was proved that he had taken every means to keep his fellows in obedience to the laws—and although no single inflammatory act was imputed to him—a jury, chiefly composed of country gentlemen, pronounced him guilty, and he was sentenced to fourteen years transportation. Thus were the prospects of a young professional man of distinguished ability sacrificed to the fears of the government, through the imbecility of a few of his fellow citizens. When sentence was pronounced, Mr. Muir thus addressed the court: “By some my sentence will be thought lenient, by others severe. It is a matter of little consequence; for had I been condemned to be led to the scaffold, I should have possessed the same calm serenity of mind I feel at this moment. I am conscious of the purity of my intentions, and that I have suffered in a great, a good, and a glorious cause, which sooner or later will prevail, and ultimately save this country.” Muir afterwards escaped from his place of banishment, but perished in an attempt to reach the French territory, where he calculated upon finding an asylum. During the course of the same year, several booksellers in Edinburgh were sentenced to short terms of imprisonment, for being concerned in what were called seditious publi-

cations, and one Palmer, an Unitarian minister, was condemned to seven years transportation for issuing an address, alleged to be of an inflammatory character. The Friends of the People, so far from being checked by these proceedings, became only more resolute in their purpose. Being joined by some delegates from England, they styled themselves the British Convention, and not only assumed some of the forms, but affected to possess the power of a parliament. Their avowed objects were to procure universal suffrage and annual parliaments; but it was a general impression that the society, in the despair of attaining their wishes by legal means, were determined to take what they wanted by force, and, with that view, had formed a conspiracy over the whole country. It must be remarked that violence can scarcely ever do so much harm to any as to those who use it; and nothing could more effectually prove the truth of our remark than the fate of these political improvers. Their deliberations were conducted with so little appearance of moderation, and were so obviously of a nature adverse to the public peace and the national religion, that the respectable part of the community in a great measure withdrew all sympathy from their proceedings. Instead of quietly endeavouring to gain over the majority to their opinion by reasoning, and forcing an amelioration of the national institutions by the weight of public sentiment, they contemplated measures for which the nation was by no means prepared. They thus only afforded an opportunity for

the friends of government to denounce liberal sentiments in general, and to give an air of popularity to the war which was now declared against France.

This severe contest was commenced early in 1793, and, as in the two last wars, Scotland contributed an ample share to the means for carrying it on. Two regiments (the 78th and 79th) were raised in the Highlands within the year. Three other Highland regiments (the 92d, 97th, and 98th) were raised in the succeeding year. What testified still more strongly the feeling with which the people entered upon the war, several fencible regiments were raised throughout the country, for the purpose of protecting it from a French invasion. While the attention of the nation was thus directed to military glory, the government excited hardly any clamour by the strong measures it adopted for the suppression of domestic conspiracy. In December 1793, the magistrates of Edinburgh were directed to break up the meetings of the British Convention, and to forbid that body to meet again, under the penalty of being treated as disorderly persons. The Provost executed this order with much firmness and discretion; and, on his proclamation being disobeyed, took several of the members into custody. One of these, named Skirving, was tried (January 1794) for sedition, and, being unanimously found guilty by a jury partly composed of citizens, was sentenced to transportation for fourteen years. The prisoner remarked at the conclusion that this sentence would be "re-judged." On the 13th of the

same month, a London citizen named Margat, who had come to Scotland as a delegate to the Convention, was tried on a similar indictment, and, being unanimously found guilty by a jury composed altogether of citizens, was sentenced to the same punishment. In March, an attempt was made in parliament by Mr. Adam and Mr. Fox to bring the trial of Messrs. Muir and Palmer under review; but the motion was lost by a majority of one hundred and seventy-one against thirty-two. The proceedings of the reformers now assumed a desperate form. It was discovered that a number of them were preparing pikes and other deadly weapons, to be distributed among the populace, and that a conspiracy had been formed for taking possession of Edinburgh Castle, and breaking up the government and courts of justice. Two citizens named Watt and Downie were tried on these charges in September 1794, before a court of oyer and terminer, an English form of procedure which had been applied to Scotland in the reign of Queen Anne, when the treason laws of England were extended over the northern kingdom, but had never as yet been acted upon. Both prisoners were found guilty of high treason, by juries composed entirely of citizens; and, for the first time was the horrible sentence applicable in such cases pronounced in Scotland. Previous to the day appointed for the execution, Downie experienced the royal mercy; but Watt was hanged and beheaded, after having fully confessed the design of revolutionising the state by force of arms. The government soon after, by triumphant majorities, carried a bill for

require effectual punishment of sedition, through the houses of parliament.

It unhappily terminated all immediate hope of saving the constitution. Liberalism was left to a few persons, most of whom possessed no weight in the country, while almost all who aimed at being considered respectable, either in public or private life, were cordially in supporting the government as it was at present constituted. The first movements of the war were unfortunate for the British arms, and great fears began to be entertained lest the French should attempt an invasion. Volunteer corps were therefore formed over the whole country, for the purpose of defending its shores. In the year 1798, the county of Scotland, with the county in which it is situated, possessed a local armed force of about five thousand men, while in all other parts of the country a proportionate number could have been brought upon the field. A militia of six thousand men was this year raised by act of parliament; and, if some riots accompanied its establishment, it was evidently from no antipathy to the objects of national defence. Barracks for infantry and cavalry were established at Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Dundee, Perth, Glasgow, Hamilton, and Ayr; and the recruiting system prospered perhaps better in Scotland than in any other part of Great Britain.

Scotland at this time afforded refuge to a portion of the exiled royal family of France. The Count D'Artois, second brother of the late Louis XVI., arrived at Edinburgh, January 1796, and, by permission of the

British government, took up his residence in Holyrood Palace, where he was soon after joined by his two sons, the Duc d'Angouleme and the Duc de Berri. These unfortunate princes were received with affectionate politeness by the people of Scotland, and remained in the country upwards of three years. The Count left Edinburgh in August 1799, after informing the chief magistrate of the city that "his heart was penetrated with a grateful sense of the noble manner in which the citizens had seconded the hospitality of his Britannic Majesty, and that he hoped one day to have it in his power to make known, in happier moments, the sentiments with which they had inspired him." It is proper to add, that when the course of events had placed this prince upon the throne of France, he redeemed his pledge in the most ample manner, by transmitting a large sum for the relief of the poorer inhabitants of Edinburgh, on their being plunged into distress by an unusually calamitous conflagration.

It is a fact not easily accounted for, that, notwithstanding the expenses of the war, and its gloomy prospects in almost every quarter, the commerce of the country was still rapidly extending, and an improvement of course taking place in the condition of the people. The year 1800 was, however, one of severe domestic distress, in consequence of the bad harvest of the preceding year. The summer of 1799 was generally remarked, both in Scotland and in England, to be the worst within the memory of man. During the ripening period, there were hardly three dry days in succession. Owing to the almost incessant

sant rains, the grain was beaten down to the earth; where a great part of it was completely spoiled. Very little grain was cut before the 1st of October; and that only on the better grounds. In the Highland districts, it never ripened at all, and consequently was nearly useless. The crops of hay, potatoes, and turnips were all alike defective; and it was observed by farmers that even the grass was deteriorated by the excessive wet, as the cattle did not fatten upon it as usual. A general dearth of victuals was the consequence of this fatal season, and although the wealthy exerted themselves more than on any former occasion of the same kind for the relief of the poor, much misery prevailed over the whole country.

With the exception of two short intervals, the French revolutionary war continued till 1815, when it was at length concluded by a combination of European sovereigns, and the ancient dynasty restored in the person of Louis XVIII. A detail of the progress of this war belongs to British history. In a chronicle of Scottish events, it may only be mentioned that, both in the political counsels by which the war was carried on, and in the military and naval transactions arising from it, a distinguished share was borne by natives of Scotland. Next, perhaps, to Mr. Pitt himself, Henry Dundas (latterly a peer under the title of Viscount Melville), an advocate originally at the Scottish bar, but afterwards advanced to be one of the Secretaries of State and Treasurer of the Navy, enjoyed for many years the leading place in the national councils. At sea, the exploits of Duncan and Keith

were only surpassed by Lord Nelson. On land, Abercrombie, Hope, Graham; Moore, and Baird, were, equal in fame to any commander under Wellington. At Maida, in Egypt, and in the Peninsula, the valour of the Highland regiments was conspicuous; and at the battle of Waterloo, which finally blasted the hopes of Napoleon Bonaparte, the vanquished chief was himself obliged to acknowledge the effect produced upon his legions by the Scots Greys. In this war, however, the Scottish regiments were less purely national than they had formerly been; for Scotsmen in general enlisted or obtained commissions in all corps, without regard to the country in which they had been originally raised; so that it is not so easy as on some other occasions to ascertain the exact share of laurels due to Scotland.

Before the commencement of this war, Great Britain had incurred a debt of more than two hundred millions. At the peace of 1815, the amount exceeded eight hundred millions; and yet, in spite of both the annual increase of the incumbrance, and the sum required to discharge the yearly interest, a prodigious advance had been made in every thing connected with the means of producing wealth, as well as the domestic comfort of the people. In the general prosperity Scotland fully participated. Her capital had become the most beautiful city in the world. Her principal manufacturing towns had doubled in population and in employment. Her ports had experienced even a greater increase of trade. A canal at the expense of about two millions of public money had been formed

athwart the Highlands; roads and bridges of the most approved construction were every where to be found. Even in the smaller burghs, a kind of new town, or at least a train of villas along the neighbouring way-sides, had arisen in almost every instance, during the period of the war, attesting that a portion of the inhabitants could now indulge in a more elegant style of life than formerly. Not the least popular disturbance had been known in the country for twenty years; and men looked back to the period of the Rebellion, as an age of romance, the very idea of domestic war having become strange to them.

If all this had taken place during a time of peace, it would have been looked upon as the proper effect of that blessing; for the general sense of mankind leads them to suppose that peace and plenty go always together. It must accordingly be deemed a very strange result, as arising from a period of war unexampled in duration and expense. The mystery is perhaps rendered still more perplexing when we reflect that during a later period nearly equal in time to the French Revolutionary war, Scotland has made no observable advance in any respect, except, perhaps, in the improvement of the national intellect and manners. Such facts are calculated in no small degree to disconcert the theories of those who seek to explain the movements of nations and the management of national resources.

The change from a state of war to a state of peace was productive for the time of much distress among the manufacturing classes, over the whole country.

The demand for an immense part of the national manufactures instantly ceased, and thus a great number of men were either thrown idle, or obliged to attempt other branches of industry, which, of course, were injured by the competition of so many fresh hands. The misery thus occasioned was increased in 1817 by a bad harvest, which raised the price of bread to a very high rate. The minds of the people in general had been in a great measure withdrawn, during the war, from the question of a reform in the legislature; but at this time of leisure and distress they recurred with anxiety to that subject. As formerly, the first discussions were directed to burgh management and election, which were generally allowed to be in a bad state. Not to speak of the exertions made in England for obtaining a reform in parliament, about a half of the royal burghs in Scotland, including all that were of any importance, had in April 1818 passed resolutions in favour of a more popular system of election for burgh magistracies. Numerous petitions on the subject having been presented to parliament, Lord Archibald Hamilton moved on the 6th of May 1819 for a select committee of the House of Commons to take those documents into consideration; and though the government opposed it with full force, as only a means of commencing a complete change of the constitution, the motion was carried by one hundred and forty-nine against one hundred and forty-four. The report of this committee was presented to the House, August 12, and ordered to be printed, which was considered another step gained towards the object. During the

subsequent prorogation of parliament, the movements in England in favour of reform assumed a violent aspect; and on the 16th of August occurred the celebrated meeting at Manchester, which was dispersed by a military force, at the cost of several lives. As usually happens, when the demand of popular rights is accompanied by violence, a great part of the more respectable reformers ceased to appear in the cause, which seemed to be then left exclusively to the discontented population of the large manufacturing towns. At the meetings held by these persons a tone was assumed which was rather calculated to alarm than to conciliate the more influential part of the community. The clergy and the country magistracies were denounced in the most furious language; every immediate evil was traced directly to the state of parliamentary representation; and nothing less than a *radical* reform in all branches of the state, accompanied by annual parliaments and universal suffrage, would satisfy these inconsiderate men. From the nature of the reform which they demanded, these agitators acquired the name of *Radicals*, which is still the appellation of a party. In December, when the parliament again met, instead of doing any thing for the revival of the burgh system in Scotland,* it passed five acts for the purpose of strengthening the hands of government against the innovators. The second of these bills subjected all periodical sheets of a

* Two burghs, Montrose and Dundee, were permitted to obtain new charters.

political nature to the stamp duty imposed on newspapers. The third decreed a severe punishment to the publishers of seditious books. The fourth was for the prevention of secret training to arms, and the fifth for subjecting political meetings to certain regulations. In these proceedings the ministry were encouraged by multitudes of loyal addresses, and by the readiness with which volunteer corps were enrolled throughout the kingdom for the purpose of suppressing all turbulent movements.

In January 1820 George III. expired, in the eighty-second year of his age, and sixtieth of his reign, and was succeeded by his son George IV. who, since the year 1812, had acted as regent, on account of the illness of his father. It was generally thought that the firmness of the government, and the disapprobation expressed by the respectable classes of society, had effectually put down all seditious movements against the government. But in a few months it was discovered that the flame was only concealed, in order to burst out with more effect. On the night between the 1st and 2nd of April, placards were posted upon the walls in Glasgow, Paisley, and all the manufacturing villages for twenty miles round, addressed to the people in England, Ireland, and Scotland, calling upon them to come forward instantly, and to effect by force, if resisted, a revolution in the government. These placards further enjoined that people should abstain from work after the 1st of April. This order was implicitly obeyed. All the weavers and other workmen in Glasgow, Paisley, and in the country for many miles

round, immediately struck work, and the streets were covered with crowds of idle and discontented workmen. The civil authorities instantly took the necessary measures for securing the public tranquillity. A proclamation was issued, warning the populace that all attempts to disturb the peace would be instantly put down by a military force. Other proclamations directed the shops to be shut at six o'clock, and recommended all the peaceable inhabitants to withdraw from the streets after that hour. A large body of troops was immediately collected in Glasgow, and the volunteers and yeomanry of Lanarkshire were instantly in arms; which had the effect of aweing the malcontents in Paisley and Glasgow, and preventing any actual collision in those towns. For several days, however, the peaceable citizens were kept on the rack of apprehension, and business was entirely suspended. Bands of the Radicals continued to assemble in Glasgow and the suburbs, and in the evening they appeared frequently armed with pikes, muskets, and pistols; but the instant a military force presented itself, they shrunk into corners, or took to flight. At Paisley, a body of troops being somewhat pressed by the mob, turned about and fired, by which a girl was wounded in the neck. This was the only serious casualty that occurred in these towns. In the country, the insurgents were more daring. Many farmers and gentlemen residing there were distressed by nocturnal visits from small parties of the Radicals, who, on pretence of searching for arms, frequently plundered the houses. On one occasion, when they attempted to force the

house of a gentleman at Foxbar near Paisley, a shot was fired by the defenders within, which killed one of the party, and the rest then fled. A band of about fifty, chiefly from Glasgow, collected on the 5th at Bonnymuir, some miles eastward from that city, where they were soon found out by a party composed of the 10th Hussars and Stirlingshire Yeomanry. On observing this force, the Radicals cheered and advanced to a wall, over which they commenced firing at the military. Some shots were then fired by the soldiers in return, and, after some time, the cavalry got through an opening in the wall, and attacked the party, who resisted till overpowered by the troops. Nineteen of the insurgents were taken, along with a small quantity of arms and ammunition. A few individuals on each side were wounded. This defeat appeared to awaken the Radicals to a sense of the hopelessness of their cause. So far from obtaining any respectable support, the manufacturers of Glasgow, as a body, came to the resolution of employing none of them who could not show satisfactorily that they had left their work through intimidation. At the end of a week from the commencement of the disturbances, tranquillity was completely restored in all places, except Greenock, where, on the 8th, a sanguinary affray took place between the military and the populace. A party of volunteers belonging to Port Glasgow, eighty in number, had brought five prisoners from Paisley and lodged them in the jail of Greenock. As they were retiring from the town, the populace pelted them severely with stones, which they answered with a

stragglings fire, by which six persons were killed, and twelve wounded. The mob then turned back, and forcing the prison, liberated the five individuals who had just been placed there by the volunteers. During the night, the mob marched out for the purpose of surprising the volunteers in their own town, which lies not far distant; but finding measures had been taken for defending Port Glasgow, they were obliged to return. From this disastrous fray only three or four of the volunteers had escaped unhurt.

A great number of individuals having been apprehended for their concern in this insurrection, the government sent down a court of oyer and terminer to try them by the forms of the English treason law. True bills were found against ninety-eight persons, but of these fifty-one of the most guilty had escaped apprehension.* Of the remainder, twenty-four were found guilty and condemned to death, two were acquitted upon trial, and twenty-one were suffered to go at large by the mercy of the crown prosecutor. Even of the twenty-four who were condemned, it was not thought necessary that more than three should be selected to suffer death. James Wilson, hosier at Strathaven, John Baird, weaver at Condorrat, and Andrew Hardie, weaver in Glasgow, of whom the two last had been taken in arms at Bonnymuir, were the unfortunate victims. Wilson was executed at

* On the occasion of the King's coronation in 1821, these men, some of whom were then in custody, were relieved from outlawry and all other penalties by a royal warrant.

Glasgow, on the 30th of August, and Baird and Hardie at Stirling on the 9th of September. The mode of execution was a modification of the plan originally practised in England in cases of treason, namely, suspension till death, after which the head of the corpse was separated from the body. Public feeling had long revolted at the savage routine of ceremonies formerly in use.

CHAPTER XIV.

KING'S VISIT.—THE REFORM BILL.

THE movements of the radical reformers were effectually suppressed by these firm measures; but there was still, throughout the country, a strong feeling of discontent with the nature of the present government. Lord Castlereagh, afterwards Marquis of Londonderry, was now the leading minister of the crown, and public measures took their tone in a great measure from his bold and unrelenting mind. Another great source of discontent was found in the domestic relations of the King. George IV., with many noble and good qualities, had been characterized through life by none of those domestic virtues which shone so brightly in his father, and in themselves went far to redeem an unfortunate and illiberal reign. He had been married in 1795 to the Princess Caroline of Brunswick, by whom he had one child, the unfortunate Princess Charlotte. But this lady, with perhaps some original imprudence on her own part, had been treated in the most cruel manner by her husband, so that she at last found it necessary to retire to the continent, where it is not improbable the influence of

wounded feelings induced her to become the real criminal which she had only been supposed. In June 1820, she returned to Britain, to claim her rights as queen-consort, which led to her impeachment before the House of Lords for high crimes and misdemeanours. The trial excited public feeling in an extraordinary degree, for, while there was little doubt of her guilt, the majority of hearts found her excuse in the early injustice and deeper guilt of her royal spouse. In Scotland, this feeling was fully participated, and perhaps it was not the less strong, that her Majesty's impeachment was a measure of the most tyrannical ministry that Britain had known since the Revolution. Finally, in November, the proceedings against her Majesty were dropped, it being found impossible to carry them on any further against the universal sympathy of the public.

The King and his ministers were now so very unpopular, that no person judging dispassionately of the state of public feeling, could have expected them ever to be otherwise. In January 1821, previous to the assembling of Parliament, public meetings took place over the whole country, to petition his Majesty to dismiss his ministers. Meetings were also held by corporations and other public bodies, where, in almost every instance, addresses for the support of ministers were carried. In sixteen county meetings, where addresses of that kind were moved, they were carried unanimously; in other eight, amendments were proposed, imputing the disturbance and distress of the country to the misconduct of ministers; but all these

amendments were lost by large majorities, except in the County of Lanark, where the liberal party triumphed by a majority of ninety-four against ninety.*

In Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, and other large towns, anti-ministerial petitions were carried in general meetings of the inhabitants. The Edinburgh meeting was attended by four thousand persons, of whom only one dissented from the resolutions ; and the address received seventeen thousand signatures. A counter address, prepared by the Tory party, received only seventeen hundred signatures. In the former number were included a great proportion of the middle ranks ; in the latter case, it was chiefly the professional and official classes, with persons of property and rank, who signed the address.

The change which soon after took place in public feeling affords a striking proof of the instability of all popular sentiments. Immediately after his coronation in July, the King began a series of personal visits to his European dominions, by which, from a cause so mean as the mere sight of his person, he effectually smoothed down all the well-founded complaints which had prevailed respecting both his public and private conduct. In August, he visited the kingdom of Ireland, where the demon of party-feeling had hitherto exercised a greater influence than in any other part of the empire. Yet, so far as the inveterate errors of Irish government could be forgotten, they were so on

* The aggregate of opposition, in the other seven disputed addresses, was 153 against 555.

the present occasion. Even the intelligence that the Queen had died of a broken heart, which arrived while his Majesty was in the country, availed nothing against the sentiment of loyalty which the appearance of the royal person had produced. In October, the King visited his continental kingdom of Hanover, where he was also received with enthusiastic loyalty.

The royal visit to Scotland took place in the ensuing summer. It was announced in July by a court letter that his Majesty would arrive at Leith about the 10th of August. Immediately, the most laborious preparations were made, both by the civil authorities and by private individuals, to give him a fitting reception. Nearly the whole of the nobility and gentry resident in Scotland, along with the magistracies of the principal towns, and immense crowds of the people at large, assembled in the capital; and one uniform of joy clothed every countenance. As Scotland had hardly known the presence of royalty for upwards of two centuries, the prospect of its presence on this occasion, awakened innumerable ancient associations that had long slumbered in the national mind. Whatever was distinctive of Scotland, in emblem, in attire, or in arms, was now revived. The Highland gentry came to the city with numerous trains of their tenantry in the almost forgotten garb of the mountains. A private society, which had lately been associated for the purpose of keeping up that dress, was appointed as a guard to the ancient regalia of the kingdom, which had lately been discovered in Edinburgh Castle, where they were deposited at the Union. An-

other society, which had long existed for the cultivation of archery, and which, on this occasion, had the distinguished honour to be nominated as a body-guard to his Majesty, assumed a new tartan dress, although their association and its object were in no way connected with the Highlands. Almost every person wore a cockade formed of the cross of St. Andrew, and a considerable number wore clothes of a certain set of colours, with buttons on which which was inscribed the word "Welcome." The whole scene was a kind of masque, in which all the old dresses, badges, and practices that the national history had commemorated, were revived and mingled together, in ridiculous yet sublime confusion.

The King set sail on the 10th of August from Greenwich, and after a somewhat rough voyage, cast anchor on the afternoon of the 14th in Leith roads. Every preparation had been made for his immediate landing; but as the weather was unfavourable, and his Majesty somewhat fatigued, that ceremony was put off till next day. In the meantime, Sir Walter Scott paid a visit to his Majesty on board his yacht, in order to present to him a magnificent jewelled badge containing the cross of St. Andrew, which had been prepared at the cost of an association of Scottish gentlewomen, and was designed for his Majesty's wearing during the time of his residence in Scotland. The King received Sir Walter in a manner suited to his exalted literary character, and the nature of his present mission.

Next day, a little after noon, his Majesty landed at

Leith, and immediately after proceeded in procession to Edinburgh, attended by the most splendid train that had ever been seen in Scotland, composed of public bodies and official persons in great numbers. Although the King was now in the sixtieth year of his age, this person was still majestic, while his deportment was remarkable for grace and dignity. He therefore made a very favourable impression upon the immense multitudes which had assembled to give him welcome. On the other hand, he was most favourably impressed by the appearance of his Scottish subjects, whom, from their apparent want of a pauper class, he characterized as a nation of gentlemen. As he advanced through the noble streets of Edinburgh, and obtained glimpses of the still finer natural scenery, with which the city is mingled and surrounded, he burst into exclamations expressive of the utmost wonder mixed with delight. The procession ended at the ancient palace of Holyrood House, which had been fitted up in order to be used by his Majesty as a court, though it was judged proper that he should lodge at Dalkeith House, the seat of the Duke of Buccleuch, about six miles from the city.

The evening of this day was signalised by an illumination of those very windows which, less than two years before, had been lighted up in a similar manner, to celebrate the triumph of his Majesty's evil genius, the Queen. The next day was spent by the King in repose at Dalkeith, and on Saturday, the 17th, he held his first grand levee at Holyrood House. Upwards of two thousand distinguished individuals paid

their respects to his Majesty on this occasion. After the levee, his Majesty held a privy council. On Monday, he again visited Holyrood House, in order to hold a court and closet audience. The commission of the General Assembly, and many other public bodies, attended on this occasion to present their addresses, the strain of which, it is unnecessary to observe, was highly loyal. On Tuesday, a drawing-room, at which two thousand six hundred ladies were presented, was held at the palace. Thursday, the 22nd, was dedicated to a grand procession, which, however, was understood to be disagreeable to the King, as it consisted simply of parading his person in the streets, without any definite object. This, nevertheless, would have been the finest spectacle of all that were presented on the occasion, if the weather had not unfortunately been unpropitious. The principal street of the ancient city was lined, as it had been on similar occasions in the days of the Stuarts, by the trades in their attire. In all convenient places there were galleries for different classes of spectators, and upon the pavement and in the windows of the houses, were arranged immense multitudes. The King, attended by the same gay *cortege* which escorted him from Leith, advanced in a close carriage, and was every where received with rapturous acclamations. The Scottish crown was borne before him by the Duke of Hamilton, and the rest of the regalia by other distinguished personages. The King ascended to the battlements of the Castle, whence he saluted the

people below with cheers. He returned to the palace by a different route.

Next day, the King reviewed the yeomanry corps of several different counties on Portobello Sands ; on which occasion about a thousand equipages, and at least fifty thousand people, were collected upon the ground. It was curious to see a monarch of the family of Brunswick reviewing the local forces of Scotland, on the same ground where Prince Charles Stuart had marshalled his Highlanders in 1745, immediately before marching into England. In the evening, his Majesty was entertained with a ball by the Scottish peers. On Saturday, the 24th, he attended a grand banquet given by the corporation of the city, which took place in the Parliament House, and was attended by about three hundred persons of the highest distinction. After dinner, he complimented the city by creating its provost a baronet. On his health being drunk, he answered, with his hand upon his heart, that this was one of the proudest days of his life. After his Majesty had retired, the Duke of Hamilton, in addressing the company, used some expressions which occasioned a very peculiar sensation. "None," he said, "approached his sovereign with a warmer expression of reverence and sincerity, and none was more anxious to maintain his duty to the King—without any subserviency, however, of political opinion. No one was more ready than he was to come forward and pay homage to the honour and dignity of the crown ; but at the same time he was not to forget the just and jealous care which he was bound to ob-

serve towards the rights and interests of the people under this free constitution. He felt a pride in showing respect and honour to the person who wears the crown of these realms ; but he had also duties to discharge for the people, which were interwoven with the best rights and securities of the crown, and which, in fact, formed the basis of the true power and constitutional glory of the sovereign."

Next day, the King attended public worship, according to the national presbyterian forms, in the principal church of the city. In going to and returning from church, he was respectfully saluted by the people in the street ; but it was inconsistent with the decorous observance of the Sabbath in Scotland, to hail an earthly king with acclamations. His Majesty expressed the utmost pleasure at observing this characteristic feature of the national mind. Service was performed by Dr. Lamont, the moderator of the General Assembly for the year, who, in his sermon, aimed only at giving an exposition of a certain point of divinity, and judiciously made no allusion to his distinguished auditor, or to any circumstance connected with his present visit to Scotland.

On Monday, the king spent the forenoon in inspecting the venerable apartments of Holyrood Palace, in which so many of his ancestors had resided. In the evening he attended a ball given by the gentlemen of the Caledonian Hunt. On Tuesday, the King visited Lord Melville at his seat near Dalkeith, and in the evening attended the theatre at Edinburgh. On Wednesday, he visited the Marquis of Lothian at New-

battle; and next day, after breakfasting with the Earl of Hopetoun, set sail from the small harbour called Port Edgar, near Queensferry, the place where his ancestress, the Saxon princess Margaret, first landed in Scotland. The visit altogether gave a very great degree of pleasure to the people at large, and it was said, on good authority, to have been equally gratifying to the King. The latter circumstance is not in the least improbable, for his Majesty was received with all the adulation that would have been hoped for by a king from his subjects, and much more, perhaps, than was consistent with the more deliberate opinions generally formed and expressed respecting his government a few months before.

So magical was the effect of these visits, in connection with some slight improvements in his cabinet and its measures, that, during the rest of his reign, though it was characterised by much commercial distress, and much misery among the working classes, the public mind remained in a state of comparative tranquillity. It was generally remarked in Scotland, that political animosities, which formerly had raged with great fury, seemed to have been extinguished by the royal visit. In the calamities experienced by the mercantile world in 1826, Scotland fully participated. About this period, no less a sum than forty-five millions, of which a third part was paid up, existed in the capitals of banks and joint stock companies in Scotland; a fact which may well excite our wonder, when it is considered that, a hundred and twenty years be-

fore, the nation possessed only £800,000 of coined money,* with hardly any other description of capital.

On the 25th of June 1830, George IV. breathed his last, and was succeeded by his next surviving brother, the Duke of Clarence, who assumed the designation of William IV., though, it may be remarked, he was only the third sovereign of that name who has governed Scotland. In the succeeding month, an entirely new aspect was given to European politics by the triumph of the French populace over the government of Charles X., and the subsequent appointment of the Duke of Orleans to fill the throne. Although the endeavour of Charles X. to render himself absolute was perhaps urged by a kind of state necessity, its defeat on the streets of Paris produced a burst of enthusiastic sympathy in all the liberal minds of Europe, and even put many of the British Tories off their guard. While similar movements were attempted in Belgium, Poland, and other continental countries, the spirit of reform re-erected its head in Britain, and in the course of a few months pressed so strongly upon the government, that the liberal Tory ministry of the Duke of Wellington was obliged to retire. The King then called to his counsels, Earl Grey and other individuals of the Whig party, who had formed the opposition during the last forty years, and made it their constant endeavour, during that period, to introduce a

* At the Union in 1707, when the coin was drawn in for the purpose of being changed, this was the sum which reached the public treasury.

moderate reform into the House of Commons. In March 1831, according to one of the stipulations of this ministry on its accepting office, a reform measure was brought before parliament, and it gave general surprise by the boldness with which it proposed to alter this fundamental institution of the country. The fictitious English boroughs, through which the landed interest had chiefly maintained its weight in the lower house, were doomed to whole or partial destruction. Instead of votes being restricted, in counties, to freeholds, and in boroughs, to freedoms, they were now extended to leaseholders in the former case, and householders in the latter; the borough qualification being a ten-pound rent.

The condition of Scotland, in respect of parliamentary election, had been a standing subject of reproach among liberal men for the last fifty years. The thirty county members were elected by limited bodies of freeholders, many of whom only possessed the ideal property called the *superiority* of the land, instead of the actual estate. In the fifteen groups of royal burghs the members were returned by those close and narrow magistracies which have been already alluded to. Some places also had sprung into importance since the Union, and yet had acquired no greater share of parliamentary influence than they then possessed. It was now proposed that, in counties, the members should be elected not only by the freeholders, but also by the proprietors of houses or land to the annual value of 10*l.* and by the leasing of land to the value of 50*l.* for nineteen years. The burgh elections were to

be placed in the hands of all tenants of houses of 10*l*. and upwards of yearly rent. It was also proposed that only twenty-two of the counties should continue to return an entire member. Selkirk and Peebles, Dumbarton and Bute, Elgin and Nairn, Ross and Cromarty, Kinross and Clackmannan, were respectively united to each other, for the purpose of returning one member; while to Orkney was now added Shetland, which had hitherto possessed no share of representation whatsoever. Some material alterations were also proposed in the burghs. Edinburgh and Glasgow were each to return two members; Leith, Dundee, Aberdeen, Greenock, and Paisley, one each; while a group of small burghs at the eastern extremity of Fife was proposed to be thrown into the county constituency. In all, the representation of Scotland was to be increased from forty-five to fifty.

Before the promulgation of this Bill, public meetings had taken place in every part of Great Britain, in order to express to parliament the anxiety of the people for reform. So far as the middle ranks of the people were concerned, these expressions of sentiment found scarcely a dissentient voice; for there prevailed in this class a very general impression, whether well or ill founded, that for a long period the government had been conducted with a view to benefit the upper classes only, while the people at large, imperfectly represented in parliament, had not power either to claim their rights or to command redress. In reality, the Tories were a less designing and powerful party than they were supposed, for they continued for

months to shut their eyes to the immense force of the popular movement, and, like the countryman who waited for a river running past that he might cross dry-shod, expected every day that there would be what they called a reaction of public feeling against the proposed measure. It was obvious to all who had been conversant with the middle ranks of the community for the last fifty years, that the disposition to this movement existed with more or less force for all that time; that it had only been suppressed at different times by accident; and that, as soon as the king and ministry should give it permission, it would break out with a violence not to be resisted by any other branch of the legislature.

Though the outlines of the Scottish and Irish schemes of reform were described at the first, it was resolved to bring forward the English bill before the rest. It obtained a second reading by a majority of *one*, but was soon after defeated upon a minor amendment; in consequence of which his Majesty dissolved the parliament, in order that the people might express their voice upon this question in a new House of Commons. Of the forty-five Scottish members, twenty-five had hitherto voted against and sixteen in favour of the bill; but in the new House, by incredible exertions on the part of the people, twenty-five reformers were returned, of whom thirteen were new members. Public sentiment had every where exercised so strong an influence on the elections, that at the division on the second reading in the new parliament, there was a majority of one hundred and thirty-six in favour of

the measure ; a fact proving that, even as the House of Commons was now constituted, there was a sufficient portion under the control of the people to give effect to their sentiments on leading questions. The bill now passed triumphantly but slowly through the remaining stages, until it reached the House of Lords, where, on the 8th of October, it was thrown out by a majority of forty-one. The House of Commons immediately put itself in opposition to the House of Lords, by voting resolutions in support of the ministry and the bill ; sentiments that were loudly echoed by the country. After a short prorogation, the ministry brought forward a new bill, exactly similar to the last in its principal features, which passed through all its stages with triumphant majorities. On this being presented for a second reading in the House of Lords, (May 1832,) it could only be understood that the King had resolved to ensure it a second reading, if necessary, by creating a sufficient number of peers to balance against the opposition. Several of the Tory peers, being perfectly assured of this intention on the part of the King,* resolved to vote for the second reading, and accordingly the Bill passed that stage by a majority of nine. It was defeated, however, a few days after, upon a minor question, and the ministers immediately tendered their resignations. The King, it is understood, had not pledged himself to carry the ministers beyond the second reading, and he therefore thought proper to accept their resignations. It

* Of this fact we can speak with historic certainty.

was evident, however, that the time for any retrograde step was past at the moment when he consented to dissolve the former House of Commons. An endeavour was made, through the Duke of Wellington, to form a cabinet of moderate Tories, who should endeavour to content the people with some gentler reform. But the aspect assumed in the mean time by the nation rendered that impossible, and the King was therefore obliged to recall his former ministers, with the necessary promise to create as many peers as might be required for overcoming the present House of Lords. By this process, which even its most zealous advocates allowed to be unconstitutional, the reform measure was carried without further obstacle, the Tory peers having withdrawn from the House. The English Reform Bill finally became law on the 7th of June, and that for Scotland upon the 17th of July.* The Irish Bill was passed some weeks after.

* In the new act for Scotland, there were some material variations from the original bill. The total number of members was raised to fifty-three, of which thirty were for counties, and twenty-three for burghs. With the exception of Elgin combined with Nairn, Ross with Cromarty, and Clackmannan with Kinross, which were, in that combination, to return each one member, the counties were each to have that privilege independently. Glasgow and Edinburgh, as before, were each to return two members; Aberdeen, Paisley, Dundee, Greenock, and Perth, one member; the old groups of royal burghs, with some slight modifications, reducing them to thirteen in number, and the town of Leith, with three neighbouring villages, were to return also one

Thus was effected, by the force of public opinion alone, one of the greatest revolutions of modern times. In an early period of our own history, and in other countries at the present time, such transactions are only effected by a hostile collision of parties ; but in the present case, such was the general intelligence of the people, that, notwithstanding the great moral excitement of the question, hardly any violence occurred. It was only, perhaps, to have been wished that the reformers had been more candid in allowing the force of some of the objections to their favourite measure. In general, they denounced every opposing argument as arising from some selfish motive ; while, in reality, many individuals, whose minds were inspired with the genuine spirit of British freedom, endeavoured to oppose or mitigate the popular fervour, from a conscientious fear as to the result of so sudden a change even for what appeared the better.

member each. The burghs of Peebles, Selkirk, and Rothsay, were deprived of the power of voting in the capacity of burghs, and the constituency of each applied to increase the amount of voters for the county in which it is situated.

THE END.

